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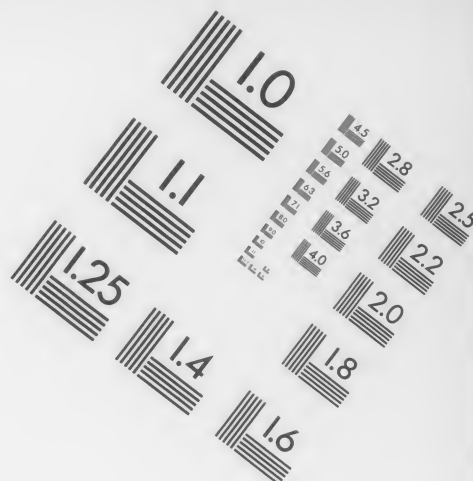
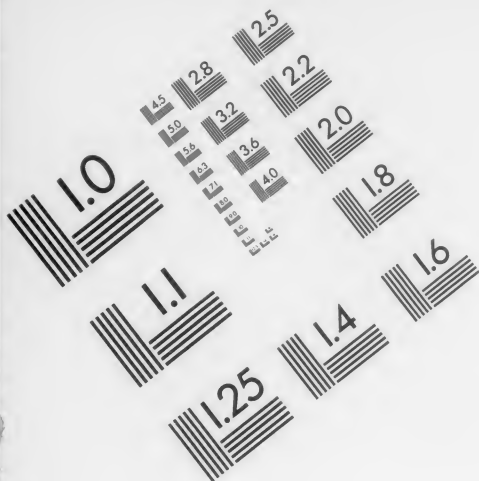


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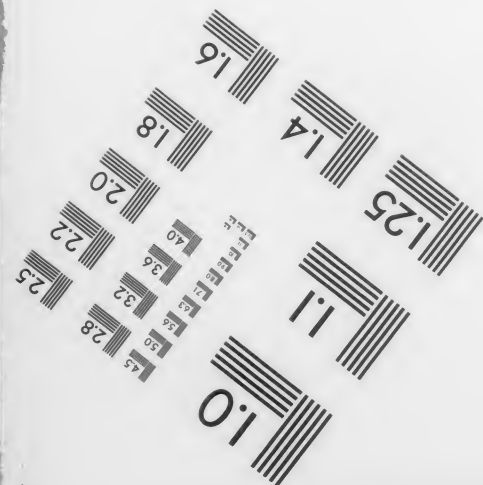
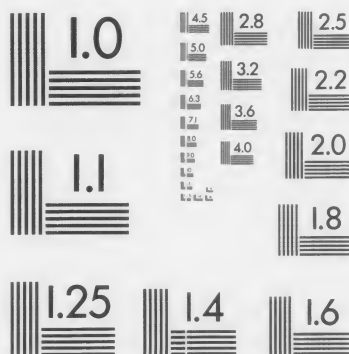
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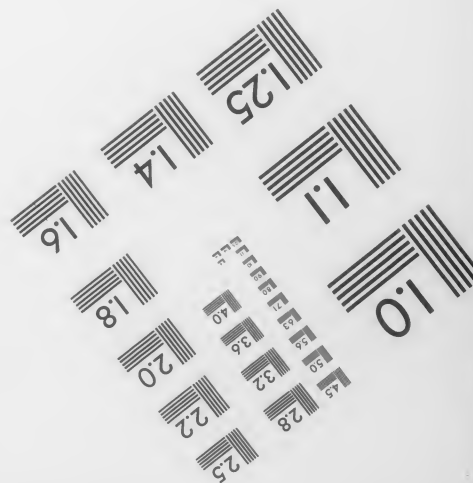
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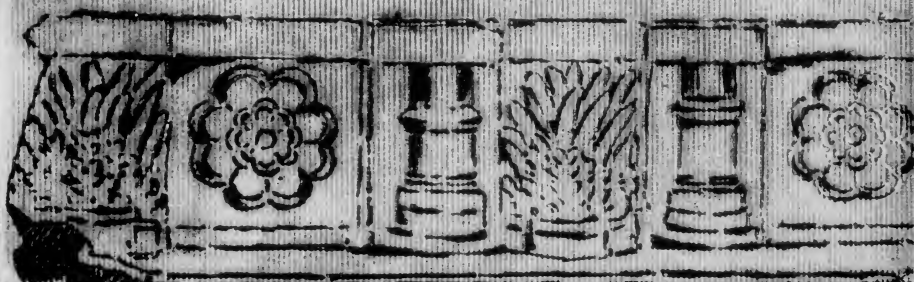
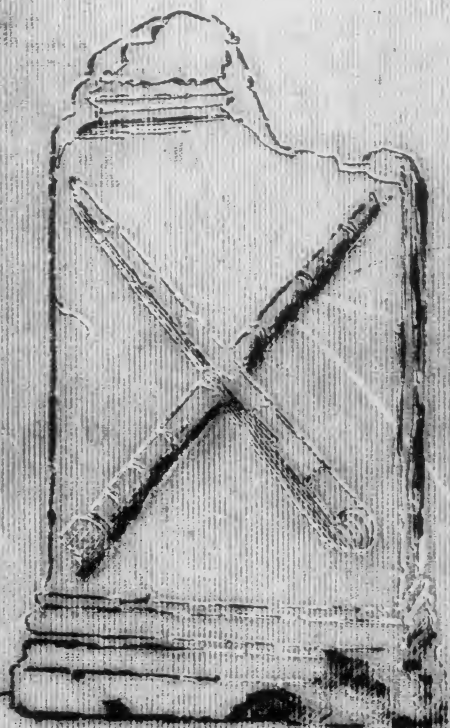
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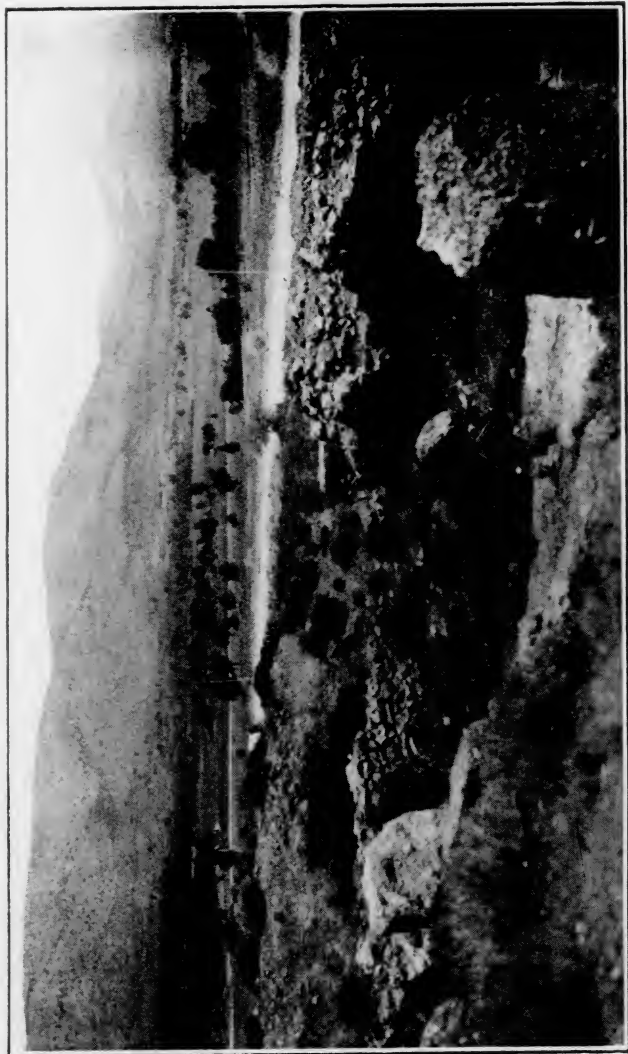


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THE SACRED WAY TO ELEUSIS.

ELEUSIS

HER MYSTERIES, RUINS, AND MUSEUM

Translated from the French of

DEMETRIOS PHILIOS

Director of the Excavations (1882-1894)

By

HAMILTON GATLIFF

Officer of the Royal Order
of the Saviour



WITH PLATES
AND COLOURED PLAN

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SIDNEY APPLETON
MCMVI

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TO
HER MAJESTY
OLGA
QUEEN OF THE HELLENES

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IS WITH PERMISSION
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AUG 25 1907
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P R E F A C E

IN placing this translation of Dr. Philios' work before the English-speaking public I wish to disclaim any personal responsibility as to the historical and archæological opinions expressed by him. I have endeavoured to keep as closely as possible to the French text except in those cases where the meaning would have been obscure. Dr. Philios has given me permission to publish the following letter :

MONSIEUR,

Ayant changé mon habitation, j'ai reçu un peu tard votre lettre. Je me hâte d'y répondre, bien que ces jours je suis très affairé.

Les corrections que je voudrais introduire dans mon livre sont nombreuses de sorte qu'il m'est impossible même d'y penser à présent.

Et voilà pourquoi surtout je ne puis vous accorder l'autorisation—ce serait un blamage pour moi de la part du monde scientifique si mon livre serait publié en Anglais avec mon autorisation sans les corrections

PREFACE

imposées par les nouvelles découvertes des huit dernières années.

Mais votre œuvre, monsieur, peut marcher sans mon autorisation; au moins moi je n'ai pas l'intention de l'entraver même à ce qui touche la vente des exemplaires en Grèce.

Quant au profit vous êtes libre de la disposer comme vous voudrez.

Agréez, Monsieur, mes salutations amicales.

D. PHILIOS.

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My best thanks are due to Mr. O. L. Richmond, King's College, Cambridge, and to the Rev. H. C. Muriel, for their kind assistance in the correction of proofs.

HAMILTON GATLIFF.

ALGIERS,
March, 1906.

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BAS RELIEF IN AMALFI CATHEDRAL

ELEUSIS

HER MYSTERIES, RUINS AND MUSEUM

HISTORICAL NOTICE

TRADITION records that the first name given to Eleusis was Saisaria ; it received the name of Eleusis, signifying "Advent," as an indication of the end of the wanderings of Demeter.

Who were the first inhabitants of Eleusis ? According to the most ancient traditions, Greece must have been inhabited first by Pelasgians, an agricultural people, who migrated, we are told, from a country to the north of Greece, in the heart of the Balkans. Herodotos makes mention of Pelasgians who were still in existence at Creston, and whom he designates as Barbarians because they spoke a language different from Greek. Moreover, the Pelasgians probably did not

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differ much from the Hellenes, who, after them, occupied Greece; they doubtless belonged to one of the great Aryan tribes who had left the tableland of Iran for the West. It is even credible that the Greeks describe under the generic name of Pelasgians the different parent tribes who successively arrived in Greece, and who formed a nucleus of the people destined to become the Hellenic race. If tradition furnishes but vague and confused ideas as to the earliest inhabitants of Greece, the recent excavations have, on the contrary, thrown a light on the obscurity of those prehistoric or mythological times—the period of the Trojan War, and even that more remote period up to about the seventeenth century B.C.

At intervals more or less wide up to the ninth century northern tribes migrated to the South, and these, in their turn—being more warlike than the firstcomers—established themselves as masters. Such were, for example, the Achaeans, who—coming doubtless from the North—settled themselves in the south of the Peloponnesos, where their kings—the Atridae—founded the brilliant dynasty subsequently immortalized in the songs of Homer. Such again were the Minyans, likewise founders of an opulent monarchy at Orchomenos in Boeotia. Tradition also mentions that “foreigners” from Asia Minor came by sea and mingled themselves with the natives; the race of the Atridae itself traced its descent from Pelops the Phrygian. It

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is probable that in the history of these mythological personages, legends preserved the memory of actual events, and increasing intercourse between Asia and Greece introduced the germs of the civilization of the former, giving birth to the prosperity of the latter. The recent excavations at Mycenae and Tiryns have enlightened us regarding the nature of this civilization. Attica naturally could not escape from this flood of invasion and the changes which consequently followed. According to tradition she also was primarily occupied by Pelasgians; but here again the Pelasgians were obliged to withdraw before the invaders, or to amalgamate with them. The struggle in this case appears to have continued longer, since the barrenness of the soil tempted but a small number of the invaders to this part of Greece. This explains the fact, recorded by Herodotos, that at one time, when the newcomers already held the Acropolis and the suburbs of Athens, the Pelasgians still occupied the sides of Hymettos. For the rest, Attica follows the same destiny as the other parts of Greece; the new tribes and their civilization, developed under the influences of the East, prevailed in the end. This at least is what the tombs of Attica prove; and they at that period did not differ from those of the Argolid and Thessaly. In fact, even what remains of that ancient palace on the Acropolis of Athens seems to reveal a similar civilization and a common social

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life. On the Acropolis of Eleusis there remains, unfortunately, no trace of prehistoric dwellings, but several tombs have been discovered—one of which in particular will be spoken of later—which show that the same civilization reigned at the remotest period at Eleusis as in the rest of Attica.

During the times immediately following, the Ionians were not behindhand in playing an important part among the tribes who had invaded Attica. It is probable that they came overland from the North; possibly they may have come by sea. Tradition connects them with the Achaeans. Achaeos and Ion, the heroic chieftains of the two tribes, were brothers, sons of Xuthos, who, like Doros and Aeolos, the founders of the two other Hellenic races—the Doric and the Aeolic—was a son of Hellen. According to tradition, the Ionians are said to have even invaded the Peloponnesos, to have occupied the northern parts, and to have been in their turn expelled by the Achaeans. This is possibly a legend of later times; perhaps the Ionians conquered a part of the east of the Peloponnesos—the country of Troezen and Epidaurus Limera—but no traces, however, remain of their conquests. In Attica, on the contrary, they certainly established themselves at an early period, first settling in the eastern part, in the neighbourhood of Marathon. In time they extended their possessions, and, having occupied the country

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around Athens, they subjugated by degrees all the independent dynasties of Attica. The record of these events was commemorated in historical times by the festival of the Synoikia. This submission of the independent dynasties was neither easily nor quickly accomplished. Eleusis in particular made an obstinate resistance. There were many advantages which enabled her to appear to stand as a rival to Athens: the natural position of this town on the line of route connecting Attica with Boeotia and with the Megarid (the neighbourhood of Salamis, where the Phoenicians had early established a factory), the possession of the Thriasian Plain and well-timbered hills, her sheltered and fish-abounding bay, and finally her powerful allies in the North and West; but she too was destined to bow to Athenian power. It is not known exactly when this event took place—probably in the seventh century. In any case, it is certain that Eleusis had already recognized the Athenian supremacy before the time of Solon—that is, before 600 B.C. In fact, without the possession of Eleusis, every attempt made by Solon on Salamis would have been hopeless, and destined to certain defeat.

Legend, which invariably confounds men with matters, carries this conquest of Eleusis by Athens back to the Heroic period. According to it, the decisive struggle must have happened during the reign of Erechtheus, when Eumolpos, with the Thracians, came to the help of the Eleusinians.

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Another tradition states that the Thracian chief who came to the succour of Eleusis was probably called Ismaros, son of Eumolpos, the son-in-law of Tegyrios. The same Ismaros is supposed to have perished in single combat with Erechtheus. These legends doubtless contain some truth; certain it is, that Eleusis was assisted by the Boeotians, in whose ranks probably Thracians fought—remnants of the Thracian tribes who at some remote period had established themselves in Phocis and Boeotia. After a long and obstinate struggle, Eleusis finally submitted; but, according to tradition, not without making conditions. She asked and obtained some privileges—for instance, that of coining copper money; otherwise her submission was complete.

The Athenians, now definitely masters of Eleusis, immediately realized the strategic importance of the town. Under the Pisistratids, during the sixth century, she rose to the importance of a first-class fortified city. Eleusis—since her submission, however—has no personal history. She formed a “deme” of Attica, included in the Hippothontid tribe. Under the Thirty Tyrants we find her serving as an asylum to those of that party who refused to treat with Thrasybulos, and so running the risk of becoming a State within a State. The danger is evaded, the faction of the Thirty disappears, and Eleusis again became an integral part of the Athenian Republic. Under the hegemony of the Macedonian kings the preservation and defences

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of Eleusis were among the most constant and important cares of Athens. Neglected as a stronghold under the Romans, she nevertheless is chosen—on account of her Sanctuary—as the favourite and the spoilt child of the Emperors, particularly of the Antonines. Later, when the Barbarians invaded Greece, she reasserted herself at a period which it is impossible as yet to fix accurately, and was again raised to the rank of a fortified town. According to Eunapios, she was cruelly plundered by the Visigoths under Alaric (A.D. 396), but neither Eunapios, nor any other well-known author, states formally that the Temple was destroyed at the time of this invasion. Zosimos, on the contrary, relates that Alaric, frightened by the apparition of phantoms, did nothing more than march across Attica. Finally, we know for certain that the celebration of the Mysteries ceased under Theodosios II. We believe that the Temple was destroyed later on, and that the work of devastation was commenced by earthquakes, and not by the hand of man.

Under the Byzantines, Eleusis revived. Restored probably at this time—with the other fortresses—under Justinian, she was thus able to resist the invasions from the North. The wall which surrounds the Acropolis appears to date from this period. Eleusis remained a stronghold till the last years of the Frankish supremacy. The tower, the ruins of which are still seen on the top

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of the hill, is perhaps of this date. The ruins of a fairly large Byzantine church, near the chapel of St. Zacharias, prove that the population was still during the tenth century a considerable one, but that from this period it began to decrease. The stormy era of Frankish rule contributed so much to this decadence, that the country was almost entirely deserted at the time of the conquest of Greece by the Turks. Finding the country around Eleusis wasted, Albanians¹ established themselves there at a period not possible to determine. It appears that at first—in order to enable them to cultivate the plain—they built huts, in which they passed the winter. Their fixed abode was twenty kilometres away, at the village of Condura, on the road to Thebes, or else at Salamis. They avoided settling at Eleusis on account of fever swamps, and from fear of pirates. Spon, the traveller, gives the following description of Eleusis, which he visited in the February of 1676.

"Eleusis, now called Lefsina, was a fairly important town while Athens flourished. She fell with her, and now has been so maltreated by Christian Corsairs—far more inhuman even than the Turks—that she is deserted by the greater part of the inhabitants, and left in ruins. But speaking of Corsairs, I must tell you of the adventure which happened to us, and which caused us to be mis-

¹ The French text has it " . . . des Albanaïs de la tribu des Toscs. . . "

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taken for such. For want of lodging and shelter, we were obliged to dismount among the ruins of the Temple of Ceres. . . . The adjacent plain, which is seven or eight miles in length, and four wide, is entirely cultivated."

It was only during the last century that inhabitants settled in Eleusis; they established themselves even on the very site of the Sanctuary.

For this reason the Archaeological Society of the Dilettanti, who in 1811 had obtained by firman an authorization to excavate, were able to accomplish but little, owing to want of the necessary funds required to buy out the peasants. At the time of the War of Independence, the people of Eleusis were among the first to take up arms, and united their efforts with those of other patriots for the liberty of Greece. In return they received the blessings of freedom. But their country, so often devastated by invasion, remained unhealthy and desolated by fever. In addition, the village situated on the hill lacked water. The population, therefore, remained stationary; but the fulness of time was drawing near for this town also. Science was about to possess itself of the Sanctuary—the inhabitants would have to leave the heights they had occupied. In 1860 a first effort was made by the Greek Government, who bought and pulled down a few houses close to the Grand Propylaea. Excavations were set on foot on this spot by the French archaeologist, Fr. Lenormant. The work,

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however, was interrupted for want of funds. It has, since then, been recently taken up again. The Greek Government has, up to the present, devoted 200,000 drachmas to buying up a large portion of the village, and the Archaeological Society of Athens has made excavations at a cost of nearly 150,000 drachmas. These excavations have in two ways benefited the inhabitants, who, having become richer, have built themselves houses on the plain, and with the excavated earth have reclaimed the marshy land, and rendered the country healthy. The construction of the railway through the Peloponnesos has facilitated the communication with Athens, and the inhabitants have become more enlightened and consequently more prosperous. The plantations they have made have restored the country to its former salubrity, and it has been transformed into a pleasant summer station. To-day the inhabitants of Eleusis, without exception, speak Modern Greek as well as their mother tongue.¹

¹ Vide page 8, line 9.

THE MYSTERIES

I

THE PROCESSION

TWO months before the full moon of the month of Boedromion, which nearly corresponds to September (old style), heralds, selected from the priestly families of Keryces and Eumolpidae, went forth to announce to those Greeks who were on good terms with Athens the forthcoming celebration of the Mysteries, while to those who were waging war a holy armistice was proclaimed. For this reason they were called Spondophoroi (σπονδή = armistice). This truce, which lasted two months, assured freedom of travelling, and provided the necessary time for participating in the Initiation. Barbarians were not initiated, although exception was made in certain instances. Romans, however, took part in the Mysteries—not being regarded as Barbarians.

The Initiation into the Mysteries during the Boedromion moon was preceded by the Lesser Mysteries, or Mysteries of Agra. These were celebrated not at Eleusis, but at Athens, on the Hill

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of Agra, to the right of the Stadium, in a temple dedicated to Demeter and Cora. Next to nothing is known concerning the nature of these Mysteries of Agra; all we know is that they furnished a kind of preparation and purification for the Greater Mysteries of Boedromion. These Minor Mysteries were celebrated during the month of Elaphebolion, after the festival of the Anthesteria, at the beginning of Spring. As in the case of the Greater Mysteries, a sacred truce was granted in their honour. Foreigners who desired a complete Initiation had to come twice to Athens—in Spring for the Lesser Mysteries and in Autumn for the Greater.

At the beginning of the Lesser Mysteries, the Mystae—those who were about to be initiated—were prepared by their Mystagogue with the knowledge necessary for the Greater Mysteries. Nothing is known definitely regarding the nature of this preparation. It appears certain, however, that the Mystagogues, who were also chosen from the families of the Keryces and the Eumolpidae, taught the Mystae the legend of the Eleusinian Divinities, Demeter and Cora, according to the traditions preserved by the two sacerdotal families. The Mystae were also taught the order of purification and the preparatory rights, the fast days, the food which—especially during the festival—had to be abstained from, and the numerous preliminary sacrifices to be offered under the direction of the

rites/



THE ELEUSINION.

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Eleusinion, at the foot of the Acropolis, in the presence of the representatives of the allied Cities, the great sacrifice of the Soteria, for the salvation of the Senate, the Athenian citizens, their wives and children. The sacrifice by the Archon Basileus being over, the Mystae sacrificed the little pig purified in the sea the night before. It does not appear that these particular victims were necessarily immolated in the Eleusinion, which would scarcely have sufficed for all these sacrifices.

On the 18th a sacrifice called Epidauria was made in honour of Æsculapios, who, it is said, arrived from Epidaurus late for the festival.

On the 19th they began with the preparations for the procession of Iacchos. This day and the following were the two most splendid of the festival. The Archon Basileus announced to the Cosmetæ of the Ephebi, that the latter must hold themselves ready in war attire to escort the Sacred Objects. The Ephebi reassembled in regular order at the place indicated. The Sacred Objects were brought from the Eleusinion—it was time that Demeter returned home—and the procession started with great ceremony across the Agora, towards the Iaccheion, near the Dipylon Gate. Here, having received from the Sanctuary the statue of Iacchos, they mounted it on a car, accompanied by the Iacchagogue and other magistrates nominated for the purpose, and went in the direction probably of the Pompeion, a

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building situated not far from this, destined for the preparation of the sacred procession. Having fixed upon the order of this, they left the town by the Dipylon, and made towards Eleusis¹ by the Sacred Way.² It was now nightfall—the procession advanced slowly—all along the roadside were altars and chapels, before which doubtless the Mystae halted, in order to sacrifice.

During the Peloponnesian War the Athenians, unable to obtain the armistice from the Lacedaemonians who held Decelea, were obliged to send the Mystae to Eleusis by sea. "Under these conditions it was necessary," remarks Plutarch, "to omit the sacrifice usually offered all along the road during the passing of Iacchos." An enormous crowd took part in this procession; not only the priests, the Ephebi, and the Mystae, but the initiated of former years also followed it, and

¹ See frontispiece.

² Pausanias, who lived in the time of the Antonines, has left us a short description of the Sacred Way and of the monuments which were to be seen along the road. Unfortunately nothing now remains of these monuments but a few insignificant ruins. Nevertheless it is desirable to take this route when visiting Eleusis. Thus one sees at least the traces of the former road, and at the eleventh kilometre stone the debris of the sacred enclosure of Aphrodite mentioned by Pausanias. At the Monastery of Daphni will be seen some beautiful Byzantine mosaics of the eleventh century. Moreover, the view of the Eleusinian Gulf on leaving the Pass of Daphni is very fine, and on the return the view of Athens is most striking.

THE MYSTERIES

also an immense number of inquisitive spectators. Those who did not wish to walk such a considerable distance (twenty-two kilometres), followed in carriages, which it appears many preferred, although forbidden by the law of Lycurgos. The wife of Lycurgos was the first to break this law, and he was obliged to pay a fine of 6,000 drachmas. Night has fallen, although up to now the procession has completed but a small distance. The rest of the journey is accomplished by the light of torches carried by each Mystes. The barren mountains of the Pass of Daphni, and the surface of the sea during the first autumn nights, resound with the mystic chant, "Iacchos, O Iacchos."

Imagine then what the scene unfolded—in these moments of religious and patriotic transport, following immediately on the victories over the Barbarians in the Median Wars, and the terrible danger which had been averted, thanks to the timely aid of the two Goddesses and Iacchos.

The inhabitants of Eleusis met the procession at Rheitoi, the boundary of their territory. A little farther on, another halt was made; the Croconidae, descendants of the hero Crocon, who had formerly reigned over the Thriasian Plain, fastened on to the right arm and left foot of the Mystae a saffron band. Each one wore a myrtle wreath on leaving Athens. The procession arrived at Eleusis towards midnight. This nocturnal journey is probably what is spoken of as "the

ELEUSIS

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night of torches" by ancient authors. It goes without saying that those who had taken part in the procession, once arrived at Eleusis, were sufficiently worn out, and devoted the rest of the night to sleep. The Sacred Objects were doubtless immediately taken back by the priests to the Anactoron, and the statue of Iacchos, which had come in the name of Athens as guest of the Goddesses, was also deposited somewhere in safety.

The following day—the 20th—was partly a day of rest, and partly a day of preparation for the Initiation, which, as it was also held at night, could not have been less fatiguing than the procession.

On the nights of the 21st and the 22nd were held the sacred watches during which the Mysteries took place. Probably the first night was reserved for the actual Mystae who were admitted to the first degree of the Initiation, the second for the Epoptae, or Mystae of the second order, who received the Epoptia a year after the first initiation. The distinction between Mystae and Epoptae is now clear. Youths might become Mystae, while only adults could qualify as Epoptae. It has recently been supposed that this distinction between Mystae and Epoptae does not indicate, as we have shown, initiation into two separate degrees given at Eleusis at the two watches, but that Mystae was the name given to those initiated at the minor Mysteries,

THE MYSTERIES

or Mysteries of Agra, and Epoptae to the initiated who were admitted a year afterwards to the major Mysteries of Eleusis. Anyhow it is a point on which discussion would here be out of place. It will be easily understood that more than two sacred watches would be held if the number of Mystae was very great. The Telesterion, where the Mysteries were held, could not—as the ruins prove—hold more than four thousand people. When two watches were held, the last one was timed to fall on the ninth day of the festival (14th to 22nd Boedromion), commemorating the nine days that Demeter wandered without food in quest of Cora.

A ceremony called Plemochoe, after the name of certain vases used on this occasion, was celebrated, most probably within the sacred precincts, the day after the second vigil. Two plemochoe, filled either with wine or water, were broken—one towards the East and the other towards the West—to the utterance of certain mystic words.

The next day again the crowd returned to Athens, unless it stayed at Eleusis to celebrate—as happened every three and five years—sports and mystery plays, which lasted two or three days. The return to Athens of the procession with the statue of Iacchos was conducted with the same splendour as the exodus. It comprised moreover a comic incident: those who awaited the procession at the bridge of the Athenian

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river Cephisos, and those who returned from Eleusis, exchanged all sorts of chaff and buffooneries, which were termed "gephyrisms," or "bridge fooling." These jests recalled, it has been said, the tactful measures employed by the maid-servant Iambe to rouse Demeter from her prolonged mourning. Those arriving from Eleusis were in the highest spirits, the greater part being initiates; those who went (from Athens) to meet them had also reasons for rejoicing, many of them having already been admitted to the Mysteries. The time of year, being the vintage, was moreover opportune to these mirthful demonstrations.

Such was the festival; but what took place exactly during the sacred vigils, what the Mysteries consisted of, whence they originated, whence they derived their importance and the high significance attached to them, is what we must now consider.

II

THE INITIATION

FROM the earliest times a secret cult and mysteries had existed in Greece. Every Genos, that is to say, every Clan, had its sacred locality and cult, from which those of another clan were rigorously excluded. Every City, which was, in a sense, merely a larger Genos—a larger family—had its distinct sanctuaries, its secret cult, which none

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took part in but the citizens, and not even all of these. This secret cult, especially that of the Genos, probably derived its origin in the worship of ancestors, and at a very early period became merged in the worship of infernal divinities. It is impossible to think that primitive mankind, and in particular the ancient Greeks, did not contemplate the problem of Death. What happened after death? This was the question which the survivor continually asked himself, and which never ceased day and night from troubling him. Often the memory of father, mother, and near relatives, whom he had lost, haunted his dreams. He naturally asked himself what these visions could be and whence they came. All was not then lost with the body—there was a soul! Thence it was but one step further to worship the souls of the departed and those of ancestors. The fear in which these were held bridged the distance. It appears that the worship of ancestors in Greece existed from time immemorial. Tombs of great antiquity recently discovered in many parts of Greece—notably at Mycenae—point to this conclusion. The dead were honoured by magnificent burials. The ornaments they had loved during life were buried with them. Sacrifices were offered them. The first duty of the survivors was to propitiate the spirit of the departed by bringing gifts to his tomb. The unhonoured departed spirit was able to harm the living; he aided, on the contrary,

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those who honoured him by increasing, for instance, their crops.

I do not think it necessary to dwell on the successive phases of the Greek creed concerning the immortality of the soul through the long evolution of their history. Of these numerous phases we will only consider the one which deals with the belief that there existed under the earth an abode reserved for the Manes, which were under the protection of the deities of the Infernal Regions. This idea naturally led to the worship of these divinities, who—by the very locality of their territories—not only had absolute sway over the Manes, but were also—as were primitively the Manes—the givers of the fruits of the earth. But if piety towards the gods such as the imagination of the Greeks created was most likely to influence deities in favour of mortals—for all times in all places—what is there astonishing if, to the worship both of infernal Pluto and pastoral Demeter and Cora, the hope of a brighter hereafter was added? if at Eleusis—more fitted than any other part of Attica to support a large labouring population—a worship of agricultural divinities was founded which held out the hope to its followers of a happy existence in the future? What seems strange in this is, that this religion, which was, no doubt, in its origin the secret cult of the Eleusinians, or even perhaps of a few of the privileged families of Eleusis, became by degrees a Panhellenic institu-

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tion—a fact which has not its parallel in any other ancient religious history. How and at what period this was accomplished will be told later. Let us first examine the legend as it has come down to us through the most ancient testimony written upon the Eleusinian Mysteries in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. Cora (Persephone), gathering flowers, was abducted by Pluto, god of Hades, and carried off by him to his gloomy empire with the consent of Zeus, brother of Pluto and father of Cora. Demeter, arriving too late to assist her child, was unable even to catch sight of the seducer—and neither god nor man was able to enlighten her. (She wandered thus for nine nights and days, torch in hand,) in quest of Cora; at last she learnt from Helios (the Sun) the name of the seducer and that of his accomplice. Incensed at Zeus, she left Olympus and the gods, and determined to scour the earth disguised as an old woman.

Having arrived at Eleusis she was honourably entertained by Keleos, ruler of the country. It was while sojourning at the house of Keleos that the jests of Iambe succeeded in provoking her to smile—she who had not laughed since the rape of her daughter—and here she was persuaded to drink the Cyceon which Metanira, wife of Keleos, had prepared according to her instructions. She moreover consented to remain with Keleos, in order to watch over the education of Demophon,

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who had just been born to the old king. The child waxed in health and strength. The goddess had undertaken to make him immortal. Unknown to the parents she used to anoint him by day with ambrosia and hide him by night in the fire, like a firebrand. But the scepticism of Metanira put an end to the plans of the goddess. Having spied upon her one night seeing the flames surrounding the boy, she began to cry aloud in terror. Demeter, surprised, allowed the child to fall, and he was rescued by his sisters. She then revealed herself, and directed the Eleusinians to erect a temple as a peace offering; she moreover promised to initiate them in the form of worship which would obtain for them her goodwill and favour. "It is I, Demeter, full of glory, who lightens and gladdens the hearts of gods and men. Hasten ye, my people, to raise hard by the citadel—below the ramparts—a fane, and on the eminence of the hill an altar, above the well of Callichorum. I will instruct you in the rites which shall be observed, and which are pleasing to me." These are the words which the author of the hymn has put into the mouth of the goddess.

The inhabitants of Eleusis obediently erected the desired temple, and Demeter thereto retired; but still vowing vengeance against gods and men, she rendered the earth sterile during a whole year. In vain, according to the hymn, the oxen were yoked to the bent plough; in vain the wheat

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fell into prepared ground. Seeing that mankind was threatened with complete annihilation, and that all the gods were deprived for ever of sacrifices and offerings, Zeus endeavoured to appease the anger of the goddess—but in vain. He then summoned Hermes to go to Pluto to order him to restore Cora to her mother. Pluto yielded, but in order to compel Cora to live with him four months in the year "he secretly gave her the sweet pip of a pomegranate." Cora, having returned from the shadowy land, found her mother in the temple which had been recently erected, and Demeter consented to the arrangement schemed by Pluto. Before returning to Olympos, where Zeus ordered her to appear with her daughter, she—now appeased—caused to awaken anew "the fruits of the fertile plains"; the whole earth re-clothed herself with leaves and flowers. Then, having called together the princes of Eleusis—Triptolemos, Diocles, Eumolpos, Polyxenos, and Keleos—"she initiated each one," says the hymn, "into the sacred rites—most venerable—into which no one is allowed to make inquiries or to divulge; a solemn warning from the gods seals our mouths." It is clear that the writer of the hymn, who appears to be an Eleusinian, does not dare to reveal the nature of these stately ceremonies; but there is one point on which he is not bound to silence—that is, the happiness that awaits those who have been initiated into the Mysteries:

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"Happy is he who has been received; the unfortunate who has never received this initiation, nor taken part in the sacred ordinances, cannot, alas! be destined to the same lot reserved for the faithful in the darkling abode."

The reason is palpable—only those who had received initiation could hope to be happy in the next life. But we must not hide from ourselves that it is open to discussion whether this passage, so explicit on the subject of the future privileged state promised to the initiated, has always existed in the text of the Homeric hymn (which appears to have been written in the seventh century B.C., preceding the downfall of Eleusis) or if it was interpolated later.

It is not to be maintained that the Mysteries did not suffer modifications on the submission of Eleusis to Athens, when they became an integral part of the religion of the Athenians, and consequently a Panhellenic institution. Observe that this original hymn does not mention the legend that was so dear to Attic poetry and art, and according to which Triptolemos, instructed by Demeter, is supposed to have diffused over the whole earth the knowledge of the use of corn and its cultivation. As simply set forth in the hymn, mankind already sowed and gathered at the time of Demeter's visit to Keleos. Moreover, Iacchos, who later on plays so prominent a part in the Mysteries, is not mentioned in the hymn. It is

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worthy of note that the Mysteries of Eleusis were, so to speak, grafted on to some other very ancient worship, that of Agra, which could not be eradicated, and which probably was of a similar character and referred to the same divinities.¹

A revolution took place in the minds of men during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. It is at this period that the orgiastic worship of Bacchus first appeared, or at least became considerably extended—an extension closely connected with the birth of the heresy of Orpheus, of which we shall speak further on. Whatever the truth may be concerning these matters, the doctrine of grace, which early in the day largely developed at Eleusis—supposing it had not always existed—remained unchanged. We do not think that the verses of this Homeric hymn where this belief is expressed are an interpolation. But this doctrine of grace and the secret imposed on the initiated—were they by themselves powerful enough to attract the immense number of pilgrims to Eleusis? Was the scene witnessed of a description to shed a ray of hope on the life to come?

No question was ever more discussed in this century or the last. Even to-day, of all the problems of Hellenic paganism, this one perhaps is still the most difficult to solve—the information left by the ancients being insufficient, or, what is worse, often conflicting. Even after the Mysteries

¹ T. Taylor, *Eleusinian Mysteries*, p. 35.

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of Eleusis became a Panhellenic institution, and—later again, under the Romans—a universal worship, so to say—this secret with which the initiated were entrusted was indeed only too well kept. And this partly because a simple description was insufficient to depict the ceremonies (*δρώμενα*) of the Sacred Vigils. I say “partly” because we should perhaps have had more appreciation of the festival if some indiscreet author—like Lucian, for instance—had left a minute description. It is possible that there was such an author, but his work is lost, unless it was purposely destroyed. In any case, we can to-day affirm—with more certainty than could Lobeck fifty years ago—that dogmatic instruction was not included in the Mysteries. It could scarcely be a question of the immortality of the soul, whatever meaning we assign to this term. That doctrine, as we have already seen, traces its origin to some other source. It was no new doctrine, having existed before the Mysteries, to whose genesis it contributed more than anything else. They taught at Eleusis not that the soul survived the body, but a way was shown how to secure for the soul, after death, the best possible fate. The departed spirit of the initiated was put on an entirely different footing from the spirit of the uninitiated. An abode of peace—far from cares and sorrows—was reserved for the former; while those of the latter suffered after death because they had not

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been initiated—because they had not obtained that grace without which there was no salvation.

But if the question of the immortality of the soul was excluded from the Mysteries, in like manner, for a stronger reason, it was omitted from the doctrines of God and Creation—in spite of the hypotheses accumulated by scientific men of the last century. Greeks in general (with the exception of murderers, who were excluded from every religious ceremony) were admitted to the initiation. Athenians, in particular, who having accepted the Mysteries of Eleusis as their own, promoted it to be the State religion. The Athenians, who had put Socrates to death for having introduced new divinities into the country, would never have allowed the priests of Eleusis to teach that the divinities so long venerated, and produced by a long evolutionary process, were but the outcome of the imagination, and unworthy of worship. There was not—nor ever could be—at Eleusis a dogmatic teaching which would have been opposed to the vulgar creed. We have, moreover, the testimony of a witness worthy of belief—Aristotle—who thought, with Synesios, that the Mysteries included no kind of precept, and were confined simply to impressions. But could not allegory explain certain acts—certain words used in the Mysteries? The abduction of Cora; her sojourn during the four winter months with Pluto; the return to her mother for the remainder of

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the year—could these not be interpreted as Nature's great Mystery? The seed buried in the womb of the earth during four months, and its rebirth subsequently in the Spring. Did it not perhaps strike the beholders that the miracle of regeneration, as personified by Cora, was indeed the symbol of the soul's eternity? The explanation by parable of the Greek myths is by no means a modern theory. Already in ancient times an endeavour had been made to explain the divinities and their legends by means of the winds, rivers, seed-time, and harvest season.

But this exegesis is philosophy, not religion or faith. At the time when this faith was still bright, the faithful—that is to say, the greater proportion of the Hellenic race—would have been unable to recognize this religion in their allegorical representations. Moreover, how could an idea of analogy between a known and tangible fact—such as germination—and the unknown, invisible destiny of the soul after death, lead the initiated, as several authors have supposed, towards reflection on the immortality of the soul? But while even admitting that such an interpretation of the legend which was enacted before the eyes of the initiated, during the celebration of the Mysteries, would have awakened thoughts upon and comparisons of the future existence, these reflections would not have been able to lead to the belief in the Immortality, but in the Regeneration of the Soul. Moreover,

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this was not (the Homeric hymn is very clear on this point) a belief imposed on the initiated. A happier lot reserved to the initiated in the world below is all that is mentioned; and this doctrine prevailed as long as the Mysteries existed. Moreover, the very symbols taught nothing new or the reverse as regards the general religion of the Greeks. The religion of Eleusis did not exclude, any more than any other Hellenic worship, symbols which, in the broader acceptance of the term, were objects briefly representing scenes which it was impossible to produce in all their details and in their essence during the representation of the legend (such, for instance, as the various utensils, the mystic cistus, the basket, and even the images of the gods). But if the symbols were more numerous at Eleusis—if, for want of a ritual, some of them became incomprehensible in the course of time—it is not to be concluded that the Mysteries had any more of a symbolic nature than any other Greek worship. It is highly probable, however, that these symbols have contributed in causing philosophers and theologians of after-times to attribute to the Mysteries of Eleusis a symbolical character. One can say in a general way that the Greek religion had neither allegory nor symbols. These are an invention of philosophers and theologians, adopted in order to give a rational explanation of the history and nature of the gods worshipped by the mass of the people. But the

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gods existed before the symbols, and in the worship they continued to be present in the minds of the people—such as their imaginations have created them.

The ancient Greeks, like all primitive races, did not realize that phenomena were the result of natural forces, but considered them to be the manifestations of invisible beings, who showed in this way their will and power. These deities were conceived in the likeness of man. Existing before man, they were, nevertheless, like him, born of a father and mother—they were influenced by the same motives and by the same passions: each one had his history and his character. Continually exposed to the fear of offending these higher powers, the Greeks had the greatest interest in comprehending them and in discovering the way to propitiate them and appease their wrath. Experience taught them by which sacrifices and ceremonies it was possible to succeed. The gods themselves who, on their side, also required the help of man, in order to receive offerings and sacrifices, often revealed to him the rites which were pleasing to them. It was the faithful observance of these ceremonies which constituted the whole religious system. Piety consisted in celebrating the ceremonies exactly as they had been handed down from their ancestors (*κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*), and innovations only were added when the gods expressed the desire for them by miracles or oracles.

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The Greeks had not, like the Egyptians, a school of theologians speculating upon and refining the existing religion, and framing a well-regulated system for the early divinities. In Greece the science of divine things confined itself to the knowledge of the history of the gods—their birth, marriages, and adventures—as their religion was restricted to the practice of the external rites required or taught by the gods themselves. At Eleusis two families—that of the Keryces and that of the Eumolpidae—possessed the secret of the Mysteries by inheritance. Hence their exclusive right, recognized by the State, to direct the initiations and to provide each a half of the religious staff of the Temple. The Eumolpidae found the hierophant, the two hierophantidae, and the priestess; the Keryces, the male and female dadouchos, the herald, and the officiating priest.¹

To recapitulate, we do not think that the initiated received religious instruction nor symbolical explanations concerning the future life. Nevertheless, it is certain that they derived reassuring hopes concerning futurity from the initiation. What was the influence in these Mysteries which was able to awaken such thoughts?

¹ It appears that in the same way the subordinate ministers of the cultus—such as the Phaidyntes, who was given the custody of the statues and the sacred vessels of the two Goddesses to keep in good repair—were also selected from the two sacerdotal families, the Keryces and the Eumolpidae.

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The testimonies of the ancients on the Mysteries of Eleusis, as has already been said, are unfortunately too scanty, and not only contradictory but often suspicious. One fact at least stands out prominently: that the Mysteries of Eleusis were the dramatic version of the legend of Demeter and Cora. This form of worship, moreover, is not confined to Eleusis; other divinities besides had their mysteries, which were equally a dramatic representation of their legends. It is quite natural that these religious mysteries should be traced in other religions besides that of ancient Greece. Is not our custom of celebrating the Passion of our Lord a dramatic mystery?¹

This drama enacted at Eleusis included actions, scenes, and dialogue (τὰ δρώμενα, τὰ δεικνύμενα, τὰ λεγόμενα).² What is understood by actions, τὰ δρώμενα?

According to Clement of Alexandria, the abduction of Cora, the grief of Demeter and her wanderings were portrayed in the Mysteries of Eleusis. Apollodorus has preserved for us details

¹ Punch and Judy is no doubt a survival of a mediaeval dramatic mystery, "Pontio cum Judicolo."—H. G.

² I have borrowed these distinctions, as well as a great many others, from the remarkable memoirs of M. Foucart on the origin and nature of the Mysteries of Eleusis. At times I only repeat the words of this epigraphist; but it goes without saying that I had by my side other works referring to the same subject (Rohde's *Psyche*, for instance), by which I was assisted.

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of the drama: "On the instant that Cora calls for help, the hierophant beats on the copper bowl." This testimony from a Pagan is not to be doubted.

Gregory of Nazianzus is more explicit: "It is not in our religion that you would find a seduced Cora, a wandering Demeter, a Keleos and a Triptolemos appearing with serpents; that Demeter is capable of certain acts and that she permits others. I am really ashamed to throw light on the nocturnal orgies of the initiations. Eleusis knows as well as the witnesses the secret of this spectacle, which is with reason kept so profound."

It is clear that Gregory speaks of two things on which Clement and the Homeric hymn prior to him are silent: the connexion of Demeter with Keleos, and her relations with Triptolemos. We have already stated that the legend of Triptolemos, who was trusted to instruct people in the cultivation of crops, was at an early period added to the ancient text. It is not improbable that this legend was an episode in the drama—the final act, if one can believe Claudian—to which can be connected this fresh proof: the Athenians, during the Initiation, exhibited to the spectators the wonderful scene of the *Epoptia*, the ear of wheat gathered in silence.

It is probable that in the dramatic mystery Demeter had connexion not only with Triptolemos but also with Keleos. I say probable, because

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the Fathers of the Church very often confuse the Mysteries of Eleusis with ceremonies of a similar nature. It is, in fact, said in a certain Orphic hymn that Demeter had no intimate relations with Keleos, but with Dysaules, her host. It is thus probable that Gregory, having borrowed this fact from the hymn, linked it later with the Eleusinian cult. What appears indecent to the Fathers of the Church would naturally not produce a similar unpleasant impression on the minds of the Greeks, accustomed to the history of the amorous relations between gods and mortals. Other witnesses refer to a fact—which at first seems to have no relation to the principal theme, but is in my opinion none the less convincing—that a connecting link exists between this fact and the legend: the tradition of the descent of the hierophant and the priestesses to a deep recess. In my opinion this concerns the hierogamy of Cora and Pluto, and the following remarkable (though unintelligible) words, which have likewise been preserved to us by a Christian author, appear to refer to this scene of the drama.

“The hierophant of Eleusis, surrounded by flames during the soul-stirring Mysteries, exclaimed in a loud voice, ‘The Divine Brimo has given birth to the holy child Brimos: the strong has brought forth strength.’”

But were these words really spoken in the celebration of the Mysteries?

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Let us proceed to the *δεικνύμενα*, which were, it is thought, as necessary to the dramatic mystery as the *δρώμενα*. “We have, unfortunately, less description on the former subject than on the latter. According to a few sparse signs we can conclude that these *δεικνύμενα* were sacred objects, very much akin to the divinities, probably the effigies.¹ These objects were enclosed (it appears) in a special place in the Telesterion, viz. the Anactoron (Megaron), which the hierophant alone had the right to penetrate. As we have already seen, they were, during the festival of the Mysteries, carried to Athens veiled, and hidden from profane gaze, whence they were taken back to Eleusis. During one of the nights of the Initiation the gates of the Anactoron were opened, and the hierophant, in his pontifical robes, revealed to the assembled Mystae in the Telesterion the sacred vessels, illumined by a dazzling light. It was certainly one of the most important revelations of the drama, since the title of ‘hierophant,’ the chief figure in this ceremony, is derived from it. To look on these ‘hiera,’ whatever they might be, was only permitted to the initiated. They beheld in their living form the divinities, the mysterious nature of which the uneducated were ignorant of. It is the recollection of the revelation which Andocides recalls to the mind of his judges, ‘You, who have seen the sacred vessels of the two

¹ See page 31 concerning the symbols.

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¹ See page 31 concerning the symbols.

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Goddesses, were initiated to punish the impious and save the just.'"

Is this then all the information we possess on the *δρώμενα* and *δεικνύμενα* of Eleusis? If one must believe Lucian and Plutarch (if the passage of the latter really alludes to the Mysteries of Eleusis), a living representation of Hades was moreover put before the Mystae, at least at the time of the Romans when these writers lived. In one of Lucian's "*Dialogues of the Dead*" two mortals are supposed to be conversing in Hades: "Tell me, Cyniscos," says one, "you who have been initiated into the Mysteries of Eleusis, does it not strike you that things here resemble those you saw there?" "Assuredly," he answers; "but here, filling the office of a dadouchos, comes a woman bearing torches, who advances with wild and threatening gestures. It must be a Fury." "The soul," says Plutarch,¹ "at the time of death experiences the same impression as those who are initiated to the Great Mysteries. The word and the action resemble each other. They say *τελευτᾶν* and *τελείσθαι*."

To begin with, there are roundabout wanderings, difficult turnings, distressing and endless journeyings through the gloom. Before the end, the fear

¹ It is unnecessary to remark that the description which Plutarch gave of the experiences of the initiated must not be taken literally. Carried away by comparison, he uses an exaggerated style.

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had arrived at its climax—shudderings, tremblings, cold sweat, terror. But afterwards a marvellous light appears before the eyes, the soul passes through blessed abodes and pastures, whence resound songs and dances, sacred words and divine forms inspiring a religious awe. From that time the individual man, perfect and initiated—set free and going abroad unfettered—celebrates the Mysteries. A wreath on his brow, he lives with just and saintly men; he sees the crowd of uninitiated and unpurified on earth foundering and wrecking themselves in bogs and blackness, and through fear of death remaining in their sufferings—defying the happiness beyond. You can thus see that the imprisonment of the soul in the mortal frame, and its union with the body, is unnatural.

Leomena
Let us turn to the *λεγόμενα*. We know for certain that the words (*λεγόμενα*) were always associated with the *δρώμενα* and the *δεικνύμενα*. The rhetorician Aristides tells us that what was seen rivalled what was heard. This testimony must be accepted from the hymns which the Mystae, with the hierophant at their head, sang, first during the procession and then in the Telesterion. But this was not all: there were also secret formulae, one of which was *ῥέ, κύε*, pronounced at a given moment by the hierophant, and taken up again probably by the Mystae in unison. I have already mentioned another, which was also

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recited by the hierophant in leaving the hidden retreat (the Catabasion).¹

But the words (*λεγόμενα*), always associated with the *δρώμενα* and the *δεικνύμενα*, particularly the mysterious formulae (*τὰ ἀπόρρητα*), formed also an important part of the mystical scenes of the Initiation. It is for this reason that Foucart, attempting to grasp the meaning, has imagined that the words of the hierophant referred to the wanderings of the Mystae across the regions of Hades which Plutarch has mentioned.

A succession of scenes was enacted before the

¹ "I have fasted, I have drunk 'cyceon.' I have taken from the cistus, and after having tasted of it I placed it in the calathos. I again took it from the calathos, and put it back in the cistus." It was the symbol of the Mystae. Clement of Alexandria, who has preserved for us this sort of symbol, does not tell us when and why it was uttered. It might certainly serve as a sign of recognition to the Mystae; but it does not follow from this that the initiated were subjected to any examination before being admitted into the Sanctuary. The narration of Livy, where he speaks of the two Acarnanians put to death for having entered into the Sanctuary concealed among the crowd of Mystae, without having been sufficiently initiated, proves evidently the contrary. A great many scholars agree that in reality this symbol could not have existed, that Clement of Alexandria on this, as on other points, must have mistaken the Mysteries of Eleusis for those of Cybele. It is possible, however, to believe that this symbol really existed, and that the hierophant and the Mystae sang it at the end of the ceremony, just as—in the time of the early Christians—the catechumen recited the Creed during the christening.

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Mystae representing Hades and its inhabitants, and likewise a series of formulae paved the way and provided the means to reach the goal. According to the eminent epigraphist and mythologist, the master-thought of this instruction was borrowed by the Greeks from Egypt about the seventh century B.C., who joined it to the worship of Demeter of Eleusis, which also was of Egyptian origin. This was, according to Foucart, the great revelation of the Mysteries and their important parts.¹

This is what is known as the Dramatic Mystery of Eleusis. But was this sufficient to give birth to the hope or to the faith in a better future state reserved for the souls during their sojourn in the nether world, which the influence of the Mysteries produced in the initiated, according to the almost unanimous testimony of the ancients? "Happy is he who has seen these things before leaving this world," cries Pindar: "he realizes the end and the beginning of life, as ordained by Zeus."

Sophocles, in a reproduction of the Homeric hymn, says: "Oh thrice blessed the mortals who, having contemplated these Mysteries, have descended to Hades; for those only will there be a future life (of happiness)—the others there will find nothing but suffering."

Isocrates expresses himself with the same emphasis in his *Panegyrics*. "Demeter, who came

¹ For further details see Foucart, *loc. cit.*, pp. 61-74.

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to our country, bestowed on us two priceless gifts: the cultivation of the fruits of the earth, which compelled us to leave our savage state; and the ceremony which brings to the initiated the sweetest consolation at death and the hope of eternity." Cicero uses more or less the same words.

I do not wish to examine to what extent this eulogistic language reflects the truth, and I am far from supporting the view that all these witnesses are but enthusiasts ("pietists"); neither do I uphold that, belonging to an exclusive assembly, who exaggerated the legends, they saw in the Mysteries of Eleusis more than even that which the crowd of initiated could discern. I will only point out that in no way, not even by dogmatic instruction—does Faith come to those who are not prepared to receive her. The incredulous were not wanting even in the palmy days of the Eleusinian Mysteries: such as Alcibiades and his companions, who—in contempt of the laws of the State—did not hesitate to scoff and turn into ridicule the entire ceremony. We know they were charged with impiety and sentenced to death.

There were then, as now, sceptics. But why did not those who believed in the sovereignty of Demeter and Cora over the empire of the Infernal Regions (and certainly this belief was accepted by the majority throughout long centuries) hasten to Eleusis, the only place where, according to their belief, they would be able to

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gain the favour of the Goddesses? It was there indeed that Demeter herself had instructed mankind in the worship which she had chosen. And if one thinks of the faith which inspired the Mysteries, of the long ordeals which preceded the Initiation, of the fast (recalling that of Demeter after the abduction of Cora), of the promises and the semi-revelations of the Mystagogues, of the purifications and the sacrifices, of the chants and the dances of the procession from Athens, of the repeated cries of "Iacche," of the arrival in the sacred city during the night and by torchlight, and the silent entry into the Telesterion, especially of the secrecy imposed on that which they were about to see and hear, and of the impatience of being initiated into those Mysteries which would ultimately bring him to the abode of the blessed—if one thinks over all these, it is not astonishing that the Mystes, on arriving at the Telesterion, should, according to Aristotle, cease to be indifferent, and find his senses excited and open to all impressions. And when, in the middle of the night—to the uncertain light of the torches—the hierophant and the other religious ministers, clad in their robes, commenced the representation of the mystic drama in the Telesterion—which had been prepared for the event—when the Mystes was initiated for the first time into hitherto unknown ceremonies—though in no wise opposed to the common belief—when he heard the melli-

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fluous voices of the hierophant and his associates, when he learnt for the first time to sing the chants—in turn plaintive and triumphant—in praise of the Goddesses whose goodwill was so indispensable to the future state; when at last the Anactoron opened, brilliantly illuminated, showing the effigies of the deities in an aspect unknown to the profane, did not the initiated feel his heart aglow with faith, the germs of which already had been sown? Now he felt worthy of the favour of the Goddesses; he had hereafter nothing more to fear for the welfare of his soul after death. Living to-day, as we do, at a time of religious indifference and scepticism, we have difficulty in realizing how the initiated of Eleusis gathered from this ceremony the hopes of a happy existence in the region of shadows. It is not so long back since thousands of pilgrims, stirred by the same hope, journeyed to the Holy Land. Spiritual grace—without which there is no salvation—is the immediate consequence of Christian baptism. He who has been baptized—in whatever part of the world—is at once received as a Christian; he is saved from original sin, and may hope (in following the tenets of the Faith) for a happy state in the next life. This promise, however, did not suffice formerly; and those who undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land—who believed that he who fasted where our Saviour had, who gave praise to the Passion where Christ suffered, who glorified

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the Resurrection where it took place, and who lit his taper at the perpetually-burning lamp—believed that the man who had thus devoutly fulfilled these holy practices deserved a happier lot in the next life. The same desire, does it not—even to-day—influence the vast crowd of Mohammedans towards Mecca, there to worship at the tomb of the Prophet?

But by what means and at what period did the Mysteries of Eleusis become the recognized religion of the State, and attain the importance which they held for so many centuries afterwards?

The seventh and sixth centuries B.C. saw, as one knows, events of great historic importance. While the Persian Empire rose on the ruins of ancient monarchies—which were vanishing one after the other—and subjugated not only Lydia but also the flourishing Greek colonies of Asia Minor, Greece at this time also issued out of the darkness of what modern historians call the Middle Age of Greece, caused by the Heraclidean conquest named the Dorian Invasion. Athens—the almost obscure city of the Cranaïdae, enlarged by the addition of the new tribes—became the centre and the capital of Attica, and laid the foundation of her future greatness. But the irritation which followed the political changes in Greece at this time roused, one may say, from their

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lethargy the populace, who were then beginning to take part in the intellectual progress of the nation. Lyric poetry, which at this time had its birth, is a striking example of this initiative. Whereas the epic poet sings impersonally of the actions of the gods, and extols the deeds of ancestors, the lyric poet makes his own motives and feelings the subject of his verses.

Religion was also the source of individualism. The gods of Homer and Hesiod—who lived on Olympus, far from man, leading a happy and peaceful existence, resembling the Greeks of Asia Minor at the time that the Homeric chants were written—were no longer able to satisfy the religious feeling of the Greeks in the seventh century. For instance, Stesichoros admits the legend that Actaeon was torn to pieces by the hounds of Diana, but this has happened, he states, not owing to the goddess having actually transformed him into a stag, but because—in order to set the hounds on him—she clothed him in deer-skins. Is not this the natural explanation of the myth?

It was then that the sect of the Orphics appeared, prophets whose aim it was to enforce, and not to abolish the law. They did not openly reject the traditions. They called the divinities by the same names, but they adapted the legends in such a manner as to be able to draw from them the conclusions they wanted. They invited every one to support their doctrines, promising the salva-

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tion of the soul. The treatises of Homer on the gods and the theology of Hesiod are, so the Orphics say, but a feeble reflection of the truth. Orpheus—older than either of these poets, inasmuch as he stood nearer to the epoch of the gods—having descended alive into Hades to seek Eurydice, is really the true prophet and theologian.

It would be very lengthy and beyond my object to go into the doctrines of the Orphics. It is enough to say that they also taught that without divine grace, and without having been initiated into the Mysteries of Bacchus, no mortal could hope to be saved. But after initiation, it was also necessary to live according to the rules laid down by their chief (Orpheus). It is here that the Mysteries of Orpheus differ so essentially from those of Eleusis, which only insisted that divine grace was necessary for salvation, and did not exact a change in the mode of life from the neophyte. But the doctrines of the Orphics—although they had strangely developed, and had made a great number of disciples, especially in Magna Grecia—never arrived at anything beyond being the doctrines and the faith of dissenting sects, which the State either ignored, or at the most tolerated. These doctrines, however, never appealed to the popular mind, for (under the guise of theology) they always inclined towards philosophy and pantheism. If the Orphics did not succeed in satisfying the religious wants of

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the crowd, there is still more reason why the Ionian philosophy—founded at the same period, and equally opposed to the Orphics and to their traditions—was unable to do so. Nevertheless, neither the magnificent temples which were then beginning to be built, nor the new divinities which at the time were being introduced into Greece—Cybele of Phrygia, Adrastia of Thrace, and others—were sufficient (it appears) to appease the religious craving of the crowd. At this time, however, the knell of Paganism had not yet sounded, and there was nothing left but reaction—a reaction which, directed by the State, was at the same time wise and temperate, and which even borrowed from its enemies what was necessary for the triumph of orthodoxy. This same reaction sought around for the seeds of certain new religions, which (reared with this object) were able to restore confidence to the public mind. These germs no doubt existed. The cult of certain genii, by secret promises peculiar to them, succeeded in fully satisfying the religious aspirations of their disciples. One of these cults was, without doubt, the worship of Demeter and Cora—reinforced probably at this time by the addition of foreign elements—who did not (like the gods of Homer) inhabit Olympus, who did not always lead a life free from care, but who had suffered, and had found consolation among mortals. Nevertheless, the crowd was excluded from the cult which was fated

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to become common property. This was certainly a work of political foresight, but even this policy would have been impotent had it not been received by predisposed minds. The recognition of the Mysteries of Eleusis as a State religion was therefore a revival, so to say, of the ancient established religion. This conduced forcibly to a very great innovation—the adoption of the cult of Eleusis by those various sects who were only a collection of men gathered together, not by a common origin nor by the worship of certain divinities, according to the traditions of their ancestors, but by the belief in a godhead which they voluntarily accepted.

It is just this, as Wilamowitz has already observed, which made the Eleusinian Mysteries as a religious institution so superior to all other official or private cults, and which at the same time embraced them all.

The brilliant victories against the Persians, victories which the Greeks won—thanks to the able aid of the two Goddesses—and the importance of the city which took the Mysteries of Eleusis under her protection, did certainly, and not a little, contribute to the great proportions they afterwards assumed. On the other hand, the influence of doctrines such as were taught by the Orphics themselves—against which the Mysteries of Eleusis were directed—had equally, though indirectly, made itself felt. I say “indirectly” advisedly, for it is a

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matter of contention, not perhaps without reason, whether this immediate Orphic influence on the Mysteries of Eleusis ever existed. For the introduction into these ceremonies of Iacchos—whose part and whose connexion with the two Goddesses are not yet clearly established—seems to have portrayed a national and tangible, rather than a religious, character. This innovation did not even introduce any essential changes into the cult of the divinities of the earth—venerated from all time at Eleusis—of which the most important when the Mysteries flourished were Demeter and Cora. At least, this is what appears from the excavations at Eleusis, which have not brought to light a solitary proof referring to Iacchos singly, nor to his worship in common with the two Goddesses. In fact, the great Eleusinian bas-relief, which is to be seen at the National Museum at Athens, represents the Goddesses in company with Triptolemos.

Such were the Mysteries of Eleusis. At the outset they attracted numbers of the faithful. At the time of Diogenes they had already begun to change their essentially religious character for what ended in being only a ceremony, of which the splendours were the chief attraction. Under the Romans they degenerated into a superstition. However this may be, during the nine hundred years (from the fifth century B.C. till the fifth century A.D.) they can be regarded as the Palladium

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of Greek Paganism. But the time had come, the Galilean had indeed mastered that dreamer, the emperor (Julian the Apostate), who strove to infuse a new life into the vanishing cult, and who—blinded by his passion—did not realize that his mistress, ever beautiful, even so in death, was but a lifeless corpse.

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NO ancient writer has left us a description of the Sanctuary of Eleusis. Strabo mentions the mystic "Secos," but he limits himself to a description of the vast dimensions of the hall, capable of holding as many people as a theatre, and of the plan designed by Ictinos, the architect of the Parthenon. Plutarch states that the Telesterion of Eleusis had a double row of columns, one on the top of the other, from which one can draw the conclusion that the Telesterion had an upper story. Finally, Vitruvius only mentions the portico of Philo. Pausanias intended to introduce in his description of Greece a detailed account of the buildings of the Sanctuary of Eleusis—and as he was one of the initiated they were all well known to him—but he says he was deterred from his purpose by a dream.

Owing to such insufficient facts, all that we know of the buildings of Eleusis has necessarily been gathered from the excavations. These have brought to light not only the ruins themselves, but also many inscriptions, of which a great number refer to the actual edifices and explain their history. The

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Temple of Triptolemos and another dedicated to Artemis Propylaea and Poseidon (her father),¹ according to Pausanias, were without the sacred enclosure. The situation of the Temple of Triptolemos is not known to us, and we are not aware that any vestige of it remains. It was generally thought that the temple of this hero was situated on the actual site of the Chapel of S. Zacharias, for the reason that it was near this chapel, in 1859, that the big relief already mentioned was found. This was a mistake; the excavations directed by me prove from the results that there never has been anything except a large Byzantine church (p. 8), which was built on the ruins of a Roman house. It was in order to erect this church that the ancient fragments which one still sees were brought together and also the big relief in the Museum at Athens (p. 50).

The ruins of the Temple of Artemis and Poseidon are the first which attract one's attention on arriving at the excavations. As a matter of fact, they are in such a state of confusion that all one can say of the Temple is, that it is of the Roman period; nor is it known whether this temple ever replaced a former one. Nevertheless, it is to be believed that Artemis (the daughter, according

¹ Pausanias does not express himself very clearly on this subject; nevertheless I am inclined to think that the Temple was dedicated to the dual divinities, Artemis and her father Poseidon.

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to the Eleusinian legend, of Demeter and Poseidon) was, as also Poseidon, the object of a distinct worship at Eleusis from the very earliest times.

Pausanias described the well of Callichorum in the following terms: "There is also to be seen there a well, which they call Callichorum, around which the women of Eleusis have instituted dances and songs in honour of the Goddess." It has previously been stated (p. 24) that the same well was already renowned at the time of the Homeric hymn—considerably before Pausanias. It is beyond doubt, in my mind, that this is the well seen on the left of the big Propylaea (Plan, A). This well was sacred, even down to the time of the Romans. We have the proof of this in the fact that it was spared by those who built the big Propylaea and the pavement leading to them. Not only did they not cover it up, but (and this shows all the more the honour in which it was held) they cut through the middle of the lowest step to the Propylaea to avoid doing so. Moreover, the construction of the well is very ancient, and the circles about the kerb prove that it was certainly the one round which they danced. Apart from this, the site of the well of Callichorum in this position tallies exactly with former accounts, even with that of Euripides.

On the right and left of the big Propylaea can be seen the débris of the two Corinthian triumphal arches. Both arches were dedicated by the



THE WELL OF CALLICHORUM.

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Panhellenes to the Goddesses and to the Emperor Hadrian, as is proved by the inscription on their architraves, both on the interior and on the exterior façades of the arches. Of the left arch, fragments remain of nearly all the different portions, so that a graphic restoration is easily imagined. Side by side with this arch there is a large building, probably of the Roman period—perhaps a bath—to which also belonged the basin (Plan, D). The little concave holes which one sees, served no doubt for men to wash their hands in and for animals to drink out of. The big Propylaea are also Roman, built of marble from Pentelicon, in imitation of the Propylaea of the Acropolis at Athens. Each façade had a row of six Doric columns, of which nothing now remains unhappily *in situ* but unimportant traces. In the middle, two rows of three Ionic columns can still be traced. The base of the interior wall and the openings of the five gates are still visible. The pediments had no other decoration except a huge medallion in the middle of the spandrel. The one belonging to the interior façade has almost entirely disappeared, only a small part remaining. The other is still standing (close to the Temple of Artemis), showing a much-mutilated emperor's bust—probably Antoninus Pius. Is the conclusion to be drawn from this that it was Antoninus Pius who erected the great Propylaea? It may be that they were begun by Hadrian, and that Antoninus completed them.

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The question would probably have been solved had the inscription on the architrave been preserved.¹ Unfortunately vestiges alone remain, from which one can only draw the conclusion that the inscription did not exist previous to the reign of Hadrian.² The existence of a balustrade, or a grating leaning on a plinth of marble, which rests on the last step but one before coming to the exterior columns of the great Propylaea, is not to be doubted; but it is certain that this addition, which was actuated by the necessity of supervision or of cleanliness, was completed a long time after the feet of those who climbed these steps had worn out the edge. Doubtless on this balustrade there formerly existed an opening, which was closed by a door, the remains of which still exists. The little Propylaea date equally from the Roman period. They were built by the Pro-consul Claudius Appius Pulcher (44 B.C.), according to the Latin inscription engraved on the architraves,

¹ The blocks of the architraves which show the remains of lettering are to be seen in front of the cistern, marked D¹ on the plan.

² It would be well to examine the aqueduct on the left of the great Propylaea, which runs under a flight of stairs, and which is not marked, in order not to overcrowd the plan. This aqueduct is vaulted and of brick. The angle south-east of the great Propylaea rests on a cistern, which dates, like the aqueduct, from the Roman times. There are proofs which leave no doubt whatever of the period of the erection of the great Propylaea.

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of which a portion is still to be seen on the right on entering. In the original plan they had only one gate, and that in the middle. This is clearly seen by the traces left on the ground by the pedestals, which were placed before the side gates. These were doubtless opened at a later period, and with extraordinary clumsiness. The exterior façade was ornamented by two columns, with a couple of very curious capitals, of which one is to be seen on the base of one of the columns. These were surmounted by the architrave, on which were designed in relief, instead of triglyphs and metopes, an ear of corn, the cistus, etc.—that is to say, objects which referred to the worship of Demeter.

The arrangement of the interior façade is not known; the two big pedestals on either side of the middle door are also an addition of a later time. As for the two grooves which one sees in the middle door, it is not known whether they were used as gutters or whether they served as ruts for chariots entering the Sanctuary. For modern carriages the distance between the grooves would be too great, but it must be remembered that the ancient chariots were of great width between the wheels. Nevertheless, it may be mentioned, that at the time that the great Propylaea were built there was no question of chariots.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to gauge the arrangement of the entrance as it was at the earliest period—that is to say, in the Hellenic

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period. What is certain is that, at the beginning, it was the entrance to the sacred enclosure during the ceremony—the little Propylaea themselves were built on the site of an old gateway. This at least is what the remains of an ancient tower on the same place tend to prove (Plan, T⁸). To the right of the little Propylaea may still be seen the débris of a cistern, likewise Roman, possibly built on the ruins of an older building. Having passed through the little Propylaea, we now enter the sacred enclosure of the Goddesses. But before moving towards the Telesterion, by the way the processions went, let us first glance at the little sanctuary on the right (Plan, E¹—E), which I believe to have been dedicated to Pluto, and which is entered from the road by a little staircase and an inner door. Moreover, in the majestic grotto hollowed in the rock, the foundations of two walls, which formed its enclosure, and the remains—unfortunately only too few—of a small temple *in antis*, are still to be seen. It appears that this temple was very old—the foundations are marked in blue on the plan—but having been destroyed at an unknown period (probably during the Median invasion) it was afterwards rebuilt.

The walls, which are marked on the plan in orange, are the remains of the more recent temple. An inscription of the year 329 B.C. mentions the Temple of Pluto. The god of Hades certainly had a share in the worship of Demeter and Cora



SUPPOSED TEMPLE OF PLUTO.

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at Eleusis (p. 22); and in all the sacred enclosure there is no place more suited to his character than this shrine of Nature, where the imagination of the faithful conjured up the yawning chasm of Hades through which Cora returned to her mother, after her descent into the Infernal Regions.

On leaving this sanctuary for the Telesterion, the ruins of the new buildings are always on the right of the processions. It is not easy to understand, the object of the steps made in the rock (Plan, G¹) and the elevation above them. The round hole which one sees is probably not of the oldest period. But the rocks seem to be hollowed out in several places to allow of certain foundations, perhaps of some small structure of an unknown nature. By the side rose, very probably one of the treasure-houses of the Goddess (Plan, G).¹ Each of the two Goddesses had her own particular treasure-house, a building, in the shape of a temple, calculated to hold rare votive offerings and money which could not be kept in the Temple itself.

The building (Plan, K) might have been mistaken for a second treasure-store if the few remains did not lead us to believe it to be Roman. But perhaps this structure existed in more ancient times, and was destroyed for unknown reasons, and rebuilt entirely under the Romans.

¹ At the angle there is a quantity of tiles in Paros marble, which were brought from the Temple of the Pisistratidae which had been burnt by the Persians.

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No remains of ancient buildings are to be found on the left of the route of the processions. It is possible, moreover, that there never were any in this place. Of the supporting wall itself only a small portion remains. The one which is now seen I have had constructed to strengthen the road. The part preserved in the pavement of the road has evidently been repaired under the Romans. This is shown by the use of lime for cement, which the Greeks only used for facing.

We have now arrived at the Telesterion. We have before us a square hall (fifty-two metres each way) surrounded by eight flights of steps, except only at the gates (Plan, m, m¹, m², m³, m⁴, m⁵), some hollowed out of the rock and others raised artificially. Probably these steps served as seats. The hall contained forty-two columns, of which all the foundations remain, as well as a few pedestals in Eleusinian stone, and a few drums in porous stone. Of other specimens of architecture there only remain a certain number of triglyphs and capitals, bits of the cornices and a few metopes. This all points to a complete transformation of the Telesterion under the Romans. At the marble base of gate (Plan, m), a stone bearing an inscription of the Macedonian period is let in. In the foundations of the 7th column of the sixth series is embedded the pedestal, on which one can now read the inscription. The earliest Telesterion, which was overthrown by an earthquake or destroyed

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by fire, must have been entirely rebuilt at this period. Underneath the ruins of the Roman Telesterion are the remains of the more ancient buildings. The rare remnants of the primitive temple—the one, in fact, built by order of the Goddess (p. 24)—are marked in bright green on the plan. But when this temple—after the conquest of Eleusis by the Athenians and the recognition of the Mysteries as the official religion of the Republic (p. 49)—became too small, it was pulled down, and on its ruins Pisistratos raised the temple, which is marked in blue.

This Telesterion was likewise square (twenty-seven metres on all sides, including the walls), containing twenty-five columns, and entered by a portico, of which the pavement in parts is intact. The columns clearly show the existence of an upper floor. Personally I feel convinced that this Telesterion was also surrounded by steps,¹ and was destroyed by the Persians (Herodotos) in 480 B.C. After the expulsion of the Barbarians, the Athenians, under Cimon, undertook a restoration of the Temple, of which a few vestiges remain in the foundations of the columns marked in yellow.²

It appears that this restoration had a traditional

¹ It would be well to examine the steps (Plan, X⁵).

² One can see in the rock the notch for the erection of these columns, indicated by the letters γ — γ — γ . From the letter γ these columns are merged in those of the Roman period, vi and vii.

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character. At this time it was thought necessary to enlarge the width of the Telesterion to about twice that of the Temple of Pisistratos to make it proportional to the length. That is the origin of the forty-two (21 + 21) Roman columns. But it is not known why, under Pericles, the plan of the other half (the south half) was changed. It was widened by twenty-five metres; but instead of twenty-one columns (or rather twenty-eight, if the object really was to unite the two parts in pulling down the south wall of Cimon's structure), only eight were erected.¹ It is almost impossible for us to-day to understand how that half of the Telesterion built by Pericles could be joined to the other half, built by Cimon, to make up a complete building. Under the Romans these two united parts formed the structure which we have now before us, and which has been lengthened by two metres on the west.² Not only the testimony of Plutarch (p. 52), but also the existence of the columns, compels us to believe there was an upper floor. This floor was probably what was called the Megaron or the Anactoron. But, to my mind, the Anactoron, properly speaking, where (according to Aelian) the

¹ Only three of these columns can be traced, $\theta-\theta-\theta$. The foundations of the others have since been covered up.

² It is clearly proved by the steps at the north-east angle (Plan, F²) that this prolongation was made during the Roman period. It goes without saying that the rock on the west side had at that time a different aspect from that which it has to-day.

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hiera were kept, and to which the hierophant alone had free access,¹ could not have been on this floor. The Anactoron was surmounted by the Opaion, mentioned by Plutarch. This Opaion had probably a shape somewhat resembling the domes of our churches, while numberless windows—brilliantly illuminated during the sacred watches—made it conspicuous from afar.

In the hall which we have before us, the ground is composed of the actual rock, or, where the rock is too deep, simply of earth. But the surface of the rock is, in places, very uneven. Between the 4th and 5th columns of the third series particularly, a projection in the rock has been preserved which, rising to twenty-eight centimetres above the neighbouring ground, attains and even exceeds the level of the ground bases of these columns. What is one to think? That the hall possessed a second artificial pavement, far more elevated than the actual ground, and necessarily hiding the round bases of the columns—bases which, for this reason, were the only part of the column made in Eleusinian stone? Or can it be admitted that these inequalities were purposely left? In this case it would be necessary to accept the theory that the western half of the Telesterion, where the rock was much deeper, was built in such a way as to offer the same inequalities, which served

¹ And, of course, also the Phaidyntes and all those who were in charge of the hiera and the effigies of Goddesses.

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perhaps as a track for the tiring and interminable marches mentioned by Plutarch. The first of these hypotheses is, to my mind, the only possible one, at least as regards the Hellenic period, since on the site of the Telesterion of the Pisistratidae remnants are found of a pavement in porous stone. Yet even for the Telesterion of the Roman period I would not willingly admit the inequality of the ground, in spite of the innovations which were probably introduced into the Mysteries about this period. If one is to believe the authors already cited on this subject—and several are worthy of belief—one must admit that platforms were erected round the 4th and 5th columns of the third and fourth series, about the middle of the Telesterion, for the representation of the dramatic mystery. What other reason can one put forward for the site and the construction of the Catabasion (p. 40)? But all this must have been perfectly simple and free of contrivance, without any real staging,¹ the same as the *δρώμενα* during the representation of the rape of Cora and other scenes of the drama. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that a great number of the Mystae would not have been able to see, owing to the columns.

But how were the hiera, which I feel sure were kept in the upper floor, exhibited to the faithful? The roof of the hall, of which we only now see

¹ This is the opinion of M. Foucart

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fragments,¹ was also the flooring of the story above. Is it to be supposed then that, immediately above the steps where the spectators congregated, there was an opening, through which the hiera could be seen as they were being carried round the hall; or is it preferable to admit that the Mystae, leaving the lower hall, walked up by a staircase (Plan, O and O¹) on to the platform (Plan, J—J¹) and entered the upper floor, where the hiera were shown them by the hierophant, while he pronounced the customary formula? It must be admitted that the scarcity of the ruins of the Telesterion, instead of putting an end to one's doubts, has created fresh controversy. If a scene representing Hades was there given, it must have been, according to my notion, a symbolic² but simple ceremony, without working greatly on the mind of the spectators—the imagination and faith of the Mystae supplied the rest. It was sufficient that they were to see—and they saw. Such was the Telesterion—that is to say, the secret "Secos" where the Mysteries were celebrated—which, from the beginning, as far back as the time of the Homeric hymn, was a square building, having its four sides at an equal distance from the centre, thus differing

¹ The height of this hall, namely the actual Telesterion, was certainly not higher than that of the rock on the west—that is to say, about six metres.

² I employ this word in the same sense as the word "symbols," which I used previously.

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from all other great temples. It was supported on all sides by columns,¹ resembling the hypostyle halls² of Egypt, having likewise an upper story. The Telesterion was entered by a portico.

A similar building existed in front of the first Telesterion (Plan, r—r¹—r²—r³—), but the few remains which were discovered were covered up again. For this reason they do not appear on the plan. The pavement of the portico of the Telesterion of the Pisistratidae is still to be seen. Under Pericles the plan was modified, in order to surround the three sides of the Telesterion with a colonnade; but this was never put into execution. The walls (Plan, n³—n⁴, n⁵—n⁶—n⁷—n⁸) are the foundations of the colonnade, which was never completed, owing probably to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. Of the portico which was built a century later by the architect Philo (p. 52) we possess a much greater number of remains. The foundations even of its north and south sides clearly prove that we have to do with an annexe of a later period. Neither could the portico of Philo have then been complete, for the fluting of the

¹ There are no traces to be found of the columns of the first Telesterion (Plan, r—r¹—r²—r³—), owing probably to their being of wood.

² It does not necessarily follow that because the Telesterion of Eleusis resembles the hypostyle halls of the Egyptian temples, the cult of Eleusinian Demeter was of Egyptian birth.

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columns was scarcely begun.¹ The walls (Plan, n⁶—n⁸ and n³—h¹) have very much the appearance of being buttresses of the angles of the Telesterion; but to my mind they were not meant for this purpose. The strange buildings (Plan, n⁵, n, n¹, n², n³) were nothing more than openings in the shape of wells, by which it was possible to descend, in order to verify the bases of the foundations of the portico.²

In front of the portico stretched the court of the Temple, which was used for several ceremonies belonging to the cult, as well as containing the statues which were raised in honour of certain dignitaries. One still sees the foundations of masonry (Plan, L, M, N, N²) built to receive them. In this same court I collected and arranged the other pedestals, which formerly supported bronze statues, many of which are remarkable for their inscriptions. In addition to the Telesterion and the monuments already mentioned, the sacred enclosure contained many other buildings. The

¹ On the drum of one of the columns one finds the word *Ittar*, which is probably the name of one of the members of the Society of the Dilettanti.

² All the space (the Temple Court, as the ancients called it) between the portico of Philo and the wall of the enclosure has also been excavated to a considerable depth. Afterwards, as it is now seen, it has been elevated to its original level, and for this reason it was necessary to raise the wall (Plan δ⁴—N) to the actual height; but the modern part of that wall is easily distinguished.

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inscription of the year 329 B.C. mentions the wardrobe (where the Mystae left as *ex-voto* the clothes which they had worn during initiation), together with the Treasuries of the Goddesses (p. 59), the Neocoreion, the house of the priestess and the Keryces, etc. Some of these buildings were very probably situated outside the enclosure. During the Roman period there were certainly lodgings appointed for those belonging to the Temple, on the sites shown in Plan, Z and Z¹. It is possible that during the classic period there were similar buildings at the same place. In the sacred enclosure properly speaking, one can still see the ruins of buildings of which the object is unknown. Towards the middle of the fourth century B.C. the south part (Plan, T³—T⁹) of the enclosure built by Pericles was pulled down in order to enlarge it on that side. They first built, for a purpose unknown, the rooms (Plan, a, b, c, d, e, f) and perhaps also a certain portico from east to west.

Later new changes were introduced—the buildings (Plan, R, P, Q) were begun, which consisted of three parts, the middle part of an elliptical shape, while those on either side were square. We are not aware of the reason of this change, nor the exact purpose of the edifice. Innovations again took place under the Romans, who having probably pulled down this structure, replaced it by a portico with two rows of columns. It was at this time also that the portico in the west ex-

THE RUINS

tension (Plan, S) was built. To satisfy the requirements of the considerably growing proportion of Mystae, it was found necessary to increase the number of porticos. Buildings, formerly set apart for other uses, were most probably removed outside the enclosure and transformed into such edifices.

The spot (Plan u¹) indicates the remains of an ancient altar; the niche (u) hollowed in the rock probably enclosed a statue. It is not known to which construction the ruins marked on the plan by the letter M I belong. It had already disappeared at the time of the building of the portico of Philo.

The little gate (Plan, G) of which the doorstep has been found, as well as the two columns of the Propylaea which were in front of it, had already been closed for some time. The rock on which to-day one sees the Chapel of the Virgin (Plan, F¹)¹ was occupied in Roman times by the building F (a temple?), of which one finds a few doubtful traces.²

It only now remains to discuss the different walls of which one finds ruins at Eleusis—most

¹ On the wall of the north side of the chapel, which appears to have been built on the ruins of a more ancient edifice (Byzantine?), one can still see the autograph of General Church, written in 1827.

² I myself believed formerly that this building, which has the shape of a temple, was probably erected in honour of Sabina, the wife of Hadrian; but it has since been proved that the opinion, according to which Sabina was worshipped at Eleusis as a new-found Demeter, rested on a fallacy.

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instructive for the history of wall-construction by the ancients.

It is impossible to be sure whether the walls (Plan, $h-h^1$, h^2-h^3 , h^4-h^5 , marked green) have ever formed a homogeneous whole, for all these parts differ in their manner of construction.¹ In any case, it is of very ancient workmanship—before the time of the Pisistratidae—and served perhaps as a sustaining wall as well as an enclosure to the first Telesterion (Plan, $r-r^1-r^2-r^3$). Of great importance is the wall (Plan, $N^2-N^3-N^4$), which formed without a doubt the interior enclosure of the Pisistratid temple. The foundations of polygonal appearance are in Eleusinian stone; the remainder, which must have been from seven to eight metres in height, was in unburnt brick. This kind of construction, which was employed in Greece from the beginning of the seventh century, appears at Eleusis for the first time. As it was found impossible to preserve the whole of the brick wall, a single piece has been preserved as a specimen of this style of building; it is quite easy to distinguish the dimensions of the bricks ($48 \times 45 \times 8$ centimetres). The part (Plan, N^2-N^1) destroyed by the Persians was immediately rebuilt on the expulsion of the Barbarians by the Athenians, who employed in its construction the materials which were brought

¹ One only sees a very little of the end of the parts (Plan h^4 , h^5). The part towards the west of $h-y$ is the oldest of all.

THE RUINS

from the burnt temple. On examining the wall to its very base, I discovered a Mycenaean tomb,¹ of the contents of which I shall speak hereafter.

The Pisistratidae, having built the interior wall of enclosure (Plan, $N^1-N^2-N^3-N^4$) allowed (it appears) the more ancient wall (Plan, $h-h^1-h^2$) to remain; but I do not follow the reason of the extension in the shape of towers, which seem to unite the two walls, and the two little central gates (g^1). It goes without saying that all this was covered up at the time of the construction of the portico of Philo, as far as the Periclean wall (Plan, S^2-S^3).

When, in the time of Pericles, it was under discussion to enlarge the Telesterion, it was found necessary to build the wall (Plan, $T^2-T^3-T^4$, marked brown), which addition it afterwards kept up to the Roman period. Of the same period are the walls (Plan, $\delta-\delta^1-\delta^2-\delta^3-\delta^4-\delta^5$)² built in order to support the embankment,³ and to prevent the

¹ This tomb was of a most simple design: four sides in dry stones 40 centimetres square, surrounded by two flag-stones. Under the weight of the wall, which it supported, the flags split in the middle, but without crumbling in pieces. The tomb has since been closed up; for, owing to water having accumulated in the trench, the wall above threatened to fall. The rock formed the base of the tomb.

² One only sees the base of the wall (Plan 8^4-N) in its inferior part; the higher portion is a modern addition. The other walls have been covered up afresh.

³ This artificial embankment was for the most part made out of the river sand.

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weight from falling solely on the interior side of the wall (Plan, T³—T⁴). Towards the end of the fourth century (335—325 B.C.) the enclosure was extended towards the south by building the wall (Plan, T—T¹—T²—T³—T⁴, marked in pink), which accounts for the strange appearance of the tower T³. At the time it was built (under Pericles) it was situated at an angle like T². It was actually half hidden in the wall, in order to accomplish which they naturally pulled down the part T³—T⁹, leaving only what was necessary for the building of the rooms (Plan, a, b, c, d, e, f) (p. 68). When these were thrown down to make space for another edifice, this bit of wall was in its turn destroyed in such a way that there now remains but very little of the southern part (T³—T⁹) of the enclosure of Pericles. The north side of the enclosure, it would appear, has undergone but unimportant changes since the time of the Pisistratidae. The enclosure of Pericles was joined to the wall of the Pisistratidae in such a manner that the part N³—N⁴ of this last wall continued, it would appear, to be part of the interior enclosure up to the time of the Romans. I repeat, "interior enclosure," for as early as the time of the Pisistratidae there was a second enclosure (Plan, t²—T⁵—t¹—T⁶—t—T⁷), part of which was entirely restored under the Romans. This wall (Plan, T⁶—t—T⁷) extended towards the west, and appears to have surrounded the whole Acropolis, perhaps as far as the Frankish

THE RUINS

tower (p. 7). But to the west the Sanctuary was separated from the Acropolis by the sustaining wall (Plan J²—J³), which served as a support, and at the same time prevented the earth and water from falling into the Sanctuary. We as yet know nothing definitely of the wall which enclosed the Acropolis from the southern side. The wall (Plan, o—o¹) was built at a very ancient period, probably at the beginning of the Barbarian invasion. At that time, as now, Eleusis was short of water. During the Roman period, immense cisterns were built outside the enclosure, on the sites Z² and Z³, which were probably fed by the aqueduct of which one still finds many remains in the plain below. The ancients hollowed out cisterns in the rocks of the Acropolis; there is one to be seen in front of the Museum which still serves as a reservoir. On the south-west side of the Acropolis, and a few steps to the west of the Museum, one sees another construction in the shape of a cistern, which some believe to be a prehistoric tomb. The question, to me, appears doubtful; but I have not had the time to make a close inspection. In the plain, near the present village, one can see here and there ruins of the Roman period. It is to be noted, that on the site of the new church are the remains of a Roman bath. A great deal of *débris* is found on the coast, where there is also an ancient breakwater.

THE MUSEUM

IT is generally admitted that, among the provincial museums, the one at Eleusis—with the exception of those at Olympia and Delphi—ranks first.

The building cost fifteen thousand drachmas, and about three or four thousand have been spent on the labour of sorting the antiquities. Unfortunately, the most important monuments have been taken to Athens, to enhance the value of the National Museum.

Before entering the Museum, let us glance at the two columns in the shape of torches. It is not known to which building they belonged. Having been found in the Chapel of S. Zacharias, I had them removed, and placed in front of the Museum. One's attention on entry is immediately attracted by a large high-relief in Pentelicon marble, placed against the wall in front of the door. It is a work of the Roman period (first century B.C.)—lifeless, but of careful workmanship. Its merit consists in the important part it plays in the study of Eleusinian mythology. Its conception represents Triptolemos sitting in his chariot, drawn by dragons;



TORCH-SHAPED COLUMN.

THE MUSEUM

Demeter is depicted sitting, and offering him a sheaf of wheat, while in the background Cora is seen holding torches. In front of Demeter a child holds an ear of corn, and behind stands a woman (the wife of Lacratides of Eleusis?).¹ At the back of Triptolemos, in the other half of the panel T, figures Pluto, "the god and goddess," two divinities whose names were never uttered. Behind Pluto, in the background, is the priest Lacratides, the donor of the relief, and at the right end Eubouleus,² holding a torch; in a word, all those gods and heroes who were specially venerated at Eleusis. All the fragments of this relief were found in the enclosure of the Temple of Pluto (Plan, E—E¹). Other reliefs, which have also been placed on the right of the entrance, equally refer to the legend of the mission of Triptolemos. The largest is remarkable for the way in which it has been executed (fourth century B.C., style of Praxiteles), and was found in the same place.

Worthy of notice in the same room are two statuettes of Poseidon and Bacchus (Roman period), a headless statue of a Satyr, the head of Athene (a curious copy—of the Roman period—of the Parthenos by Phidias) and the statue of Antinous. In the right hall adjacent are to be seen the terra cotta vases and statuettes.

¹ See French text.

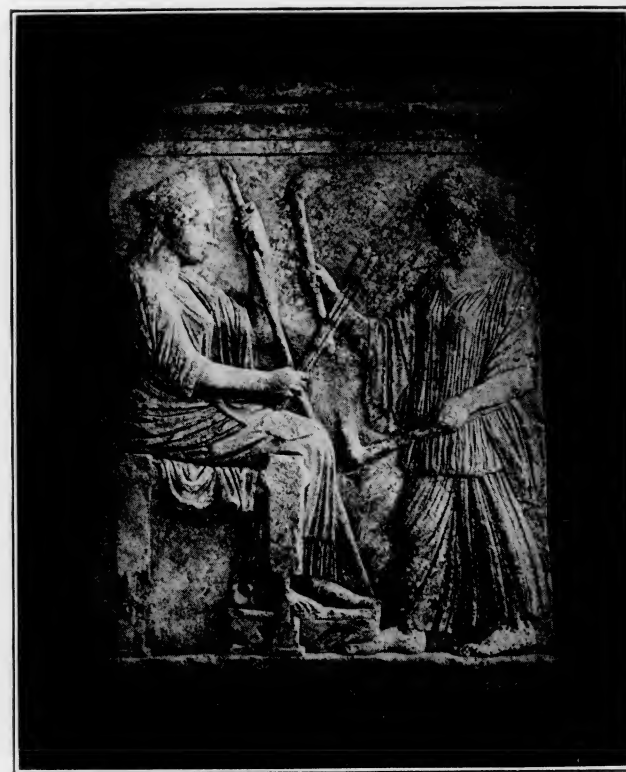
² I am told by Dr. Philios that this name is synonymous with Pluto.—H. G.

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The Museum of Eleusis is very rich in vases of the Geometrical style, which have been discovered in the tombs at the foot of the southern slopes of the Acropolis, less than a hundred feet from the Museum, of which many are intact. The fragments of the others show a resemblance to nearly all the known shapes ; but (except for professional archaeologists) they are of no special interest to those who have already visited the museums of Athens. One must, however, give particular attention to a certain kind of vase, which up to the present has only been found at Eleusis. Very varied in shape, these vases probably were used for incense-burners, and were for the most part gilded by a process which denotes a higher form of art. In the same case one sees the vases taken from the Mycenaean tombs, which I mentioned previously (p. 71), together with five other vases, found in a child's tomb of the same period, and likewise fragments of the Mycenaean style discovered in different places.

The terra cotta figurines, for the most part of archaic style, are not of much interest, though a few of the women's heads are good, and remarkable, more especially, for the head-dress.

Particularly noticeable in the middle hall are the reliefs, leaning against the doorposts. One of the two bears an inscription: a decree of the people and the Athenian Senate for the construction of a bridge over the Rheitoi. The inscription is



RELIEF REPRESENTING DEMETER AND CORA.

THE MUSEUM

surmounted by a bas-relief representing Athene holding out her hand to the genarch of the Eleusinians, behind whom Demeter and Cora are to be seen. Opposite is a funeral bas-relief of the best period (end of the fifth century), bearing a certain likeness to the Hegeso in the Street of the Tombs at Athens. The third relief represents the two Goddesses: Demeter sits holding ears of corn in one hand and a sceptre in the other, while Cora stands before her with a torch in either hand. This relief dates from the years which immediately followed the Median Wars (480—460 B.C.). The moulding of the figures is not yet perfected, but is the foretaste of the art of Phidias. On the fourth relief is represented an engagement between Athenian horsemen and Spartan hoplites, which (according to the inscription) took place in 411 B.C. If this relief had been intact—or even if the existing parts had not been so terribly mutilated—we should here possess a remarkable work of art of the period of the Peloponnesian War.

In the centre of the fourth room (in which the second door of the Museum opens) rises a headless statue, doubtless of Demeter. With her left hand the goddess raises her cloak; in the other she probably held a sceptre. If this is not a work of the fifth century, at least one can recognize in it a copy of a statue of that period. The drapery still shows certain severe lines, but the

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body is full of life—the breasts wonderfully so. The careless work of the cloak is perhaps explained by the fact that the statue was only meant to be seen from the front. It would be well to examine in the same hall the bust of the woman who carries a basket on her head, the restoration and the setting-up of which was not accomplished without difficulty. At one time there existed another similar bust at Eleusis, equally incomplete, which was taken away in 1803 by an Englishman and carried off to Cambridge, where it is now.¹ The bust at Cambridge was found without the right arm, which I discovered in the débris now collected in the Provisional Museum, and which is to be seen at Eleusis side by side with the bust of the Cistophoros which remains. Where were these busts originally placed? Perhaps in the interior façade of the little Propylaea. They were both found together close by, and date from the Roman period, probably the first century B.C.

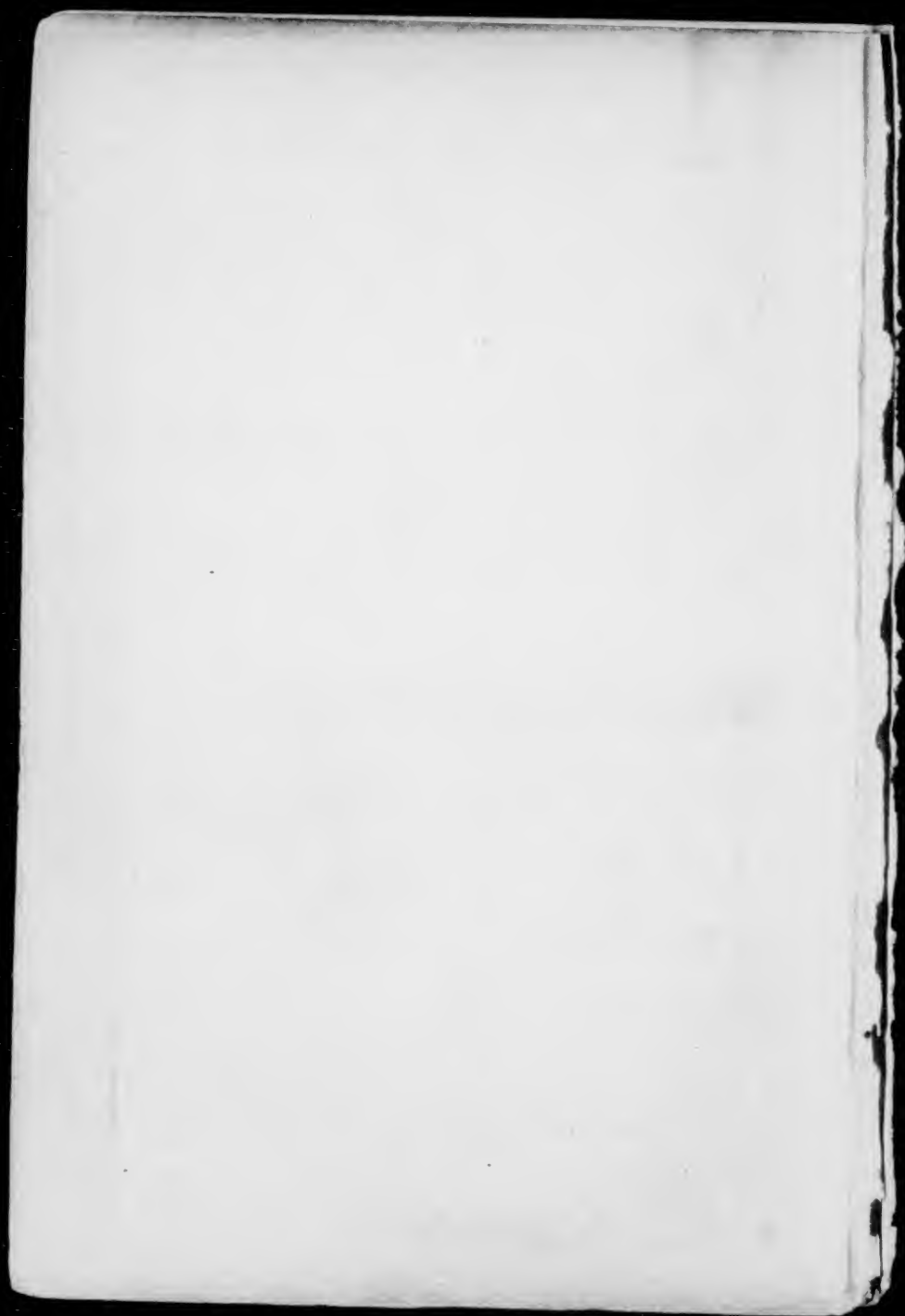
An archaic statue of a nude male figure—of the type generally designated Apollos—two other archaic statues of women, and a torso of Victory, of the best period, can also claim the visitor's attention.

In the fifth room the inscriptions are all collected

¹ For a long time the Cistophoros at Cambridge was mistaken for a Demeter. It is unnecessary to say that this opinion was entirely erroneous.

THE MUSEUM

together—real documental treasures, which not only throw light on the history of Eleusis and its Sanctuary during the historic period, but in a general way on the whole history of the Republic of Athens.

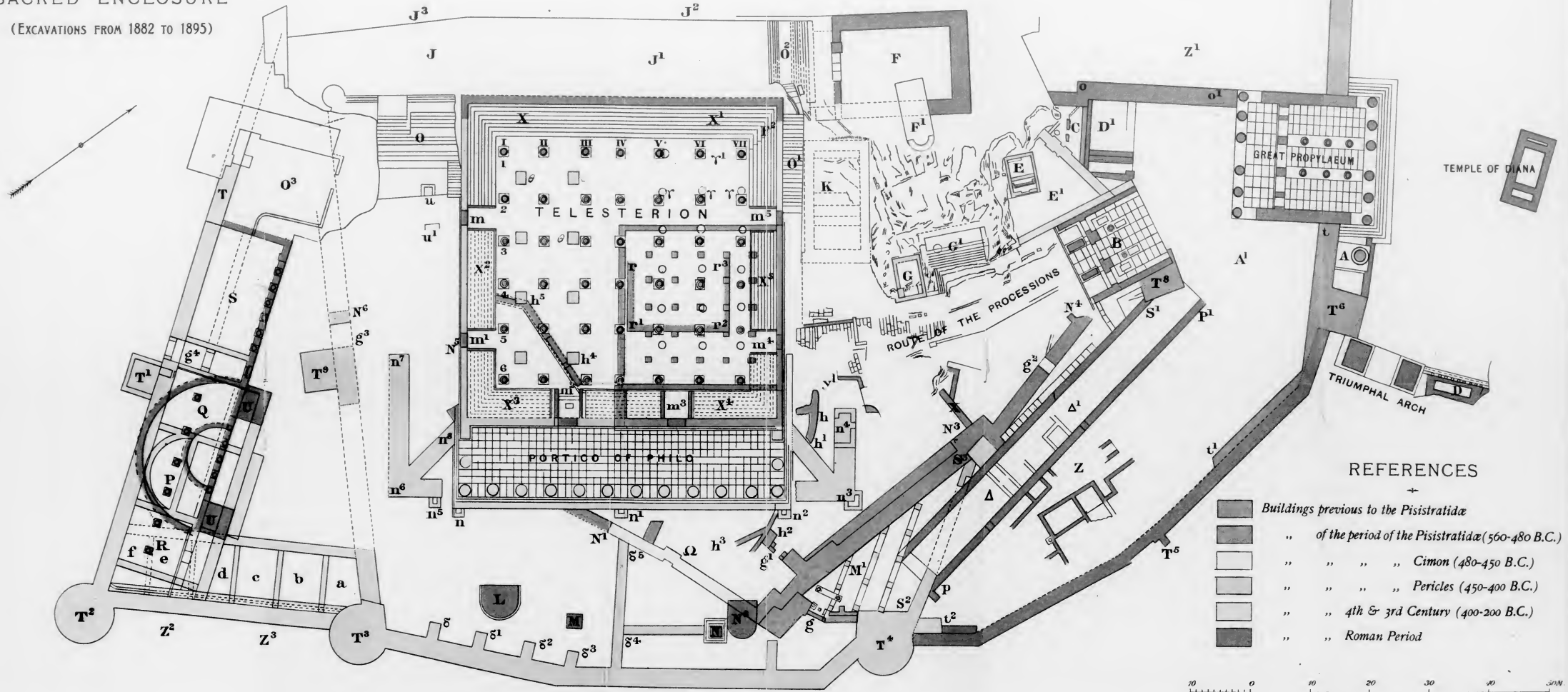


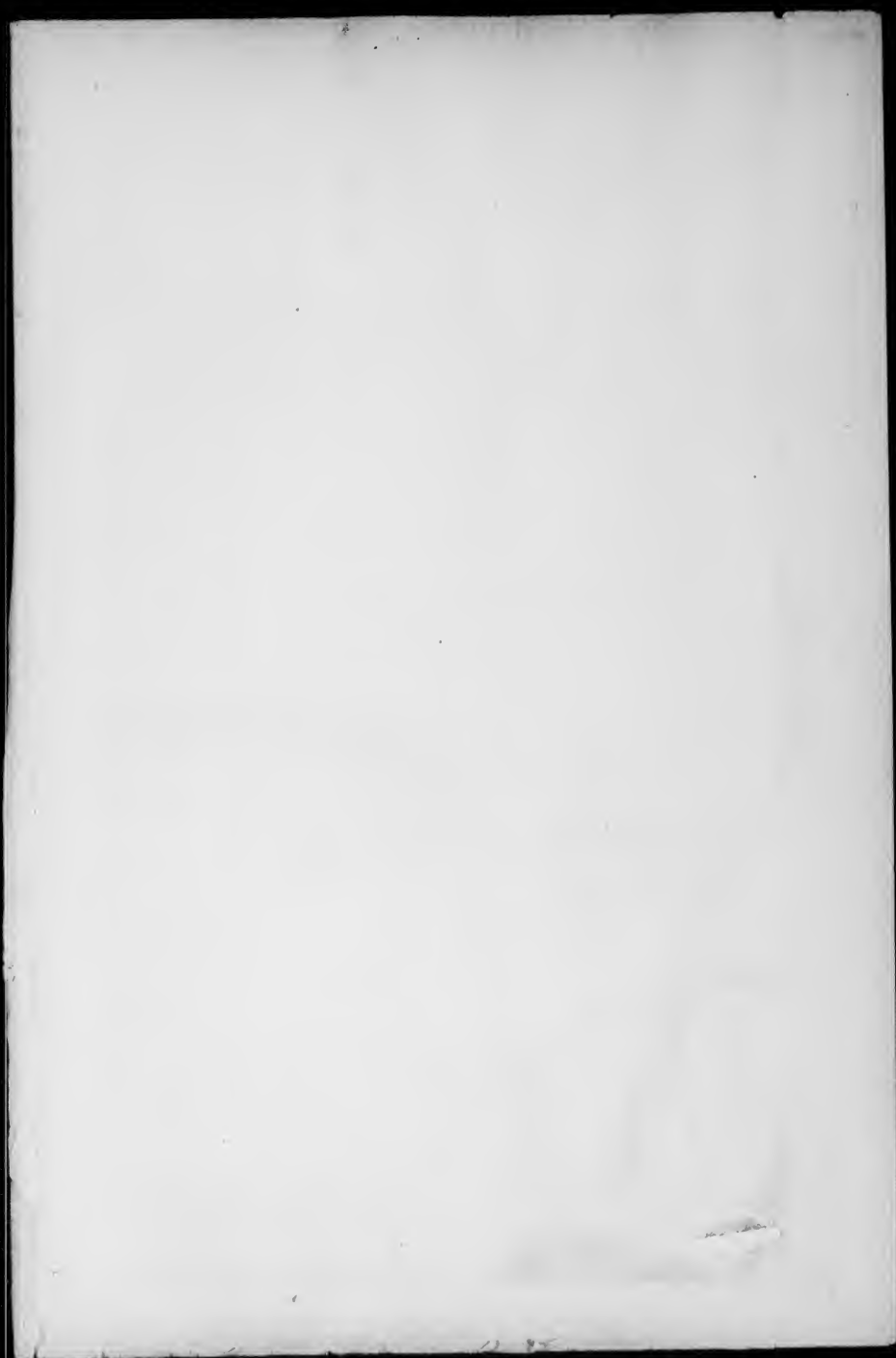
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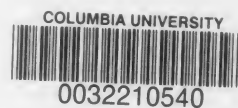


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